

The Christianization of India

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D. V. Sivarao

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A Chapter in the History of India under The East India Company

"The European community bitterly opposed the earlier missionaries like Carey, partly because they came from the poorer classes but chiefly because they might have a disturbing effect on Indians. The Vellore Mutiny of 1807 was ascribed to their activities, and the official recognition of Christianity was attacked in language which now seems incredible. Charles Marsh, a leading Madras Barrister, protested solemnly against countenancing 'these low base born mechanics .. crawling from their original destinations, these apostates from the loom and anvil, these renegades from the lowest handicrafts.' It is surprising that he omitted the carpenter's bench.*

Lord Minto's most criticised action was that which he took against the missionaries. The company's territory being closed to them, they were established in the Danish settlement at Serampore, whence they issued pamphlets which were distributed in British India. Minto forbade propagandist preaching in Calcutta and William Carey, the great Baptist leader, agreed to a censorship of their publications.

In the latter demand, Minto was not unreasonable as clamour in London represented. To the Chairman of the Directors he wrote: "Pray read especially the miserable stuff addressed to the Gentoo, in which, without one word to convince or satisfy the mind of the heathen reader, without proof or argument of any kind, the pages are filled with hell fire, and still hotter fire, denounced against a whole

race of men for believing in the religion which they were taught by their fathers and mothers, and the truth of which it is simply impossible it should ever have entered into their minds to doubt. Is this the doctrine of our faith? ... If there are two opinions among Christians on this point, I can only say that I am of the sect which believes that a just God will condemn no being without individual guilt. The remainder of this tract seems to aim principally at a general massacre of the Brahmins of this country. A total abolition of caste is openly preached. A proposal to efface a mark of caste from the foreheads of soldiers on parade has had its share in a massacre of Christians ..." As that last sentence reminds us, Vellore had gone deep and into bitter remembrance.†

Rajah Rammohan Roy wrote as follows in his preface to the first edition of the Brahmanical magazine published in 1821:—

"For a period of upwards of fifty years this country (Bengal) has been in exclusive possession of the English nation, during the first thirty years of which, from their word and deed, it was universally believed that they would not interfere with the religion of their subjects, and that they truly wished every man to act in such matters according to the dictates of his own conscience. Their possessions in Hindoosthan and their political strength have, through the grace of God, gradually increased. But during the last twenty years (i.e. from 1801) a body of English gentlemen, who are called missionaries, have been

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* Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India: Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrat (Pp. 192; 246-7)
† Lord Minto in India—Life and letters from 1807-1814. Edited by Countess of Minto. P. 291.

*Reprint May 1940.
Imperial message*

publicly endeavouring, in several ways to convert Hindoos and Mussalmans of this country into Christianity. The first way is that of publishing and distributing among the natives, various books, large and small reviling both religions, and abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints of the former: the second way is that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach the excellency of their own religion and the debasedness of that of others: The third way is that if any natives of low origin become Christians from the desire of gain, or from any other motives, the gentlemen employ and maintain them as a necessary encouragement to others to follow their example.

In Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of English man is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion, cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act."

Raja Rammohan Roy tried to arrest the advancing tide of Missionary menace by writing articles and pamphlets.*

Harriet Martineau wrote:—The difficult question of the introduction of Christianity into India was warmly and widely discussed at this time.

By the charter of 1813 missionaries were permitted to go to India—a measure about which there could have scarcely been two opinions if the country had been hitherto open to settlement by all who chose to go. As it was, the question was surrounded with difficulties, then, as it is

now. The point on which rational people were agreed was that extreme ignorance and presumption in the missionaries who went out at the beginning of the century had produced deadly effects not only by aiding the disaffection at Vellore, but by discrediting the profession of Christianity by more enlightened and less egotistical persons. All agreed that the company were pledged not to interfere with the religion of their subjects, whatever it might be; and all the company's most trusted officers on the spot declared that missionary efforts among either Hindoos or Mohamadans would put a stop to the improvement, material and moral, in the condition of the people, which were becoming very marked. There seem to have been few, however, who perceived that the conversion of the Mussulman to Christianity is almost as impossible as that of the genuine Jew; and that the conversion of Hindoos had thus far been, and was likely to continue a mere conformity from the sense of duty and fitness in their relation to their European superiors. But over and above all this, there were Christians in India to the number of many thousands; and they needed a clergy and justified an episcopate. The charter of 1813 provided for one Bishop at Calcutta who was to act as archdeacon of the other Presidencies. Bishop Middleton went out as the first Bishop in 1814. He found he had only thirty two clergy under him; and they were in fact, military chaplains over whom he held a divided authority. He caused new churches to be built, and congregations to be formed, and established some degree of order and communion among the European Christians in different parts of the country. Under

* "The Samachar Darpan" a Bengalee weekly was started by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore on 23-5-1818. The Editor was J.C. Marshman. It began to attack Hinduism and the Sastras. Raja Rammohan Roy started The Sambad Kaumudi another Bengalee weekly on 4-12-1821 to counteract the propaganda of the Serampore missionaries. On 12-4-1822 he also started a persian newspaper called the Merat-ul-Akber with the same object. A theological controversy raged for sometime between him and the missionaries. James Silk, Buckingham Editor of the Calcutta Journal founded on 2-10-1818 began to publish translations of the articles of Rammohan Roy in his journal. Some of these articles were considered objectionable by the members of the Supreme Council. On 12-2-1823 J. S. Buckingham was ordered to leave India and on 14-3-1823 the Press regulations were passed which curtailed the liberty of the Press.

his sanction the Missionary Christian College of Calcutta was founded for the instruction of natives and others for the offices of preaching, catechising and school tuition and for the aid and encouragement of missionary labours in general. Bishop Middleton died in 1822. He was succeeded by Reginald Heber who died in 1826.

According to testimony from all quarters, great and increasing surprise was caused by the ill success of all missionary efforts in India. Vast sums were expended, and more and more missionaries were sent out; and still it was very rarely that the hope of the conversion of an individual could be entertained and when it was, disappointment almost invariably ensued. It is easy to see now that the whole development and training of the mind of Asiatics of any religion was so entirely different from the European, and especially the British, that it was impossible for the two to obtain the same point of view. Through all that is said, and very truly, of the difficulty of dealing with such an institution as that of caste, and with other obstacles, the fundamental truth is that the unprepared mind, whether Hindu or Mussalman, developed under Asiatic conditions, cannot be in sympathy, more or less, intellectually or morally, with the Christianised European mind. The only true method is now, for the most part, agreed on: the natives must pass through a great process of secular education—that of life under improved conditions—before they can embrace any new dogmatic system. Lord William Bentinck and his immediate predecessors were faithful representatives of the views of their employers in this respect, being devoted to the work of native education, as the only genuine preparation for religious conversion. * Before Lord Hastings went home, the missionaries applied their services to the Christians at the presidencies instead of the hopeless task of

converting Brahmins and Mohammedans; and when they did attack the hostile faiths, it was chiefly by means of schools, in which improved views and principles were to be conveyed in the form of literature. Many trials were made of English Schools, as a higher stage to be reached through those in which the native languages were employed; but the attempt created mistrust, till the British at Calcutta offered to deliver over an English College there to the management of enlightened Hindoos. The thing was done; and thus arose the English College of Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck carried on with zeal all such schemes; and he originated many more. New schools and classes were encouraged all over the country. The best superintendence and stimulus were given to the Native Institutions; but the Governor-Generals' earnest desire was that the English language and literature should be the medium through which the native mind and destiny should be elevated in all directions. He proved, clearly enough, the happy consequences which would ensue; but he overlooked the unpracticable character of the enterprise on which he wasted a great deal of virtuous effort.†

In the 18th Century while the East India Company admitted French Roman Catholic and German Protestant Missionaries into India, they refused to admit British Missionaries. The reason is partly because they feared that the Company might be compromised if missions of the same Nation as the Govt. engaged in Christian propaganda. But the chief reason was commercial fear, lest under the guise of Missionaries British free traders or "Interlopers" might break the Company's monopoly of trade between Great Britain and India.

In the new charter (1813) granted to the

* Macaulay wrote to his father in 1836:—"It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence." He declared that the intention behind the introduction of English education was "to form a class of persons who would be Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, morals and intellect."

† British Rule in India -- Harriet Martineau; Smith Elder & Co. London 1857. PP. 286-290.

East India Company, the Parliament opened the door to all missionaries. They held that it is the duty of the Company to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India and such means ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement and in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing the benevolent designs. Thus free influx of English men and colonisation by Englishman, Free entry of missionaries to preach the Gospel and impart English education was directly encouraged.

The great evangelical revival of vital Christainty in England had led to the formation of great missionary societies in the last decade of the 18th century. London Missionary Society was started in 1795. The British and Foreign Bible Society in 1805, The Church Mission Society in 1799. All these societies sent out missionaries to India.

In 1813 the London Missionary Society opened chapels in Madras. The Church Mission Society's South Indian Mission was established in Madras in 1814. The Madras Diocesan District Committee of the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge was established in 1815 and opened nine schools with 283 students.

Rheinus who was sent out by the Church Mission Society in 1814 bought a site in Black town, Madras, near the mint in 1817 and began building a church. In October the Hindu residents sent in a petition to the Governor in Council. The superintendent of police enquired into the matter and the work was stopped in December, 1817. The Government dammed the Society and erected a new church for the Native protestants of Madras in Popham's Broadway called the Tucker's Church. (Protestant Missions in Madras.

*(Around the city Pagodas.—V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. M. A. Lecturer, Madras University, The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume, pp. 358-9)

C. H. Monahan The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration). The Company Government were very nervous in those days. For a long time it was the policy of the East India Company's Government to patronize the Indian faiths, Hindu and Moslem, some times undertaking the direct management of the temples and some times supporting the native enterprise. In pursuance of this policy the Government of Madras as we shall see in the sequel, took over the management of the Madras Town Temple, called Chennakesava temple and also the Triplicane Temple among others as well as of a mosque or two. Duties were levied on merchandise for the maintenance of mosques and temples. Both the communities, Hindu and Moslem were subjected to this taxation and this practice continued for a long time. But in 1707 the Moghul and Pathan Moormen, merchants in the city showed their unwillingness to pay for the Hindu shrines. Thomas Pitt, Governor, favoured the continuation of the old practice. The Pathan merchants threatened to desert the city and settle in San Thome. As this would have led to the ruination of trade, the Company's Government ultimately yielded to their wishes in 1716. Some time later the Bengal merchants also were exempted from payment of taxes to support both Hindu and Moslem institutions.*

Thus it is seen that by donations, endowments and funds collected from a tax on exports and imports being a voluntary payment and with customs dues, the company's Government made ample provision for the maintenance and upkeep of Hindu pagodas and Moslem places of worship. Whenever there were communal troubles between the Left Hand and the Right Hand Castes, Government effectively interfered and settled their differences either by arbitration or by order in Council.

In pursuance of the policy established by precedent and custom, the officials of the East India Company patronised the pagodas in different ways: Lord Clive

(Earl of Powis) Governor of Madras (1798-1803) presented jewels to the Conjeevaram and Madras pagodas from the loot of Srirangapatam. The patronage of Joseph Collet has already been referred to*. Lionel Place, Collector of Chingleput (Jaghir District) (1794-1800) who had his headquarters at Karanguzhi is said to have made several gifts to the Temples at Madurantakam, now a Railway Station not far from Madras. In addition to gifts and patronage of the Temples and their festivals by the company's Government, it was customary to send out troops on the occasion of the celebration of Indian festivals and of the ceremonial visits of the Nawabs of Carnatic. It once happened that a private was injured in a fire works explosion in Conjeevaram festival in June 1836. The Commander in Chief thereupon ordered that the troops should be kept in a collected body as a military guard for the maintenance of order and not on any account to be permitted to join or take part in the procession or ceremony, nor to act as escorts either to persons or property.

This order was misunderstood as an absolute prohibition by Brigadier Fane commanding at Trichinopoly and he refused honorary escort at Hindu festivals at that place. In this way began the protest of the company's servants against participating in Hindu festivals.

The whole question was considered by the Governor General in Council, the Commander-in-chief adhering to his own view. A G. O. was issued in March 1837 saying that the previous order of June 1836 of the Commander-in-chief was not to make any change as to the occasions on which troops should attend native festivals but only to regulate the manner of their employment when required to attend at such festivals according to customs and they should not participate in the ceremonies or processions, nor detached individually, but only employed as soldiers for

the maintenance of order. It was not to interdict their attendance as gaurds or escorts at festivals and to compliment native princes. The Commander-in-chief who was not satisfied with the order of the Madras Government kept it in abeyance and forwarded all the papers to the Government of India. The reply received from the Government of India on 21-6-1837, regretted the ambiguous working of the wording in Commander-in-chief's general order of 21st June 1836, and also his habit of issuing letters having all the force of a general order, on questions involving general policy or innovations in long established customs. It approved of the resolution of the Madras government and recommended that the circular orders of the Commander in chief varying with it, should be allowed to fall gradually into desueude, without being formally cancelled. Attendance of troops at native festivals and in honour of native princes was to continue as usual; only Christian drummers should not be compelled to be present at the religious festivals of the sepoys except when on duty with their company. The Madras Commander-in-chief appealed against this to the court of Directors stating that the compulsory attendance of Officials and Soldiers at festivals might be offensive to their conscience and deprecating the allowing of orders to fall into desuetude. The reply from the court of Directors was unfavourable as it led to the resignation of Sir Peregrine Maitland, the then Commander in chief of Madras Army in December 1838. The immediate cause of his resignation was his refusal to punish a European soldier who did not attend a native festival contrary to practice. The practice of troops attending festivals etc., however gradually ceased.

At this time Bishop Corrie of Madras again submitted to the Madras Government a memorial signed by 150 civil and military servants and by 50 clergymen and missionaries protesting against official

* Joseph Collett Governor, 1717-1720, vested in one Viraraghava, a Brahmin, the management of the shrine of Kalyana Varadaraja Swami Temple erected in Collett's peta. The Governor is said to have helped the growth of this pagoda by lavish gifts. A part of the funds from the exports and imports of the city was allowed to this temple.

patronage of idolatry. The secretary of the Madras government in the course of his reply wrote, "that he was directed to inform the Bishop that the sentiments of the Governor were not in accordance with the sentiments of the memorialists, that the Governor was sorry the Bishop did not attend to his own particular duties in moderating the zeal of over heated minds instead of agitating questions that were calculated to endanger the peace of the country. The Bishop was thus censured. When the memorial ultimately reached the Directors, they sent a despatch that was "ambiguous and faint-hearted." This was another ground which weighed with Sir Perigrine Maitland in his resignation. Lord Auckland who became Governor-General in 1836 was perplexed by this episode in Madras

But 'the tender dry-nursing' of Hindu and Moslem religious institutions continued to be shown by the company's Government. It is recorded that in 1837 the order of British India was bestowed on Kilpauk Chittaldroog for his splendid organisation of the procession of Jagannath. At the same time the agitation on the part of Christian officials and non-officials also continued with the result that in 1840 the Pilgrims' tax was abolished. The gradual withdrawal of company's patronage was viewed with suspicion by the natives of India. Confidence was however restored by the proclamation of Her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria in 1858, assuring of religious neutrality, due regard being paid 'to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.' From this time the temples in the city of Madras were placed under the management of a trustee or trustees and continued to function with satisfaction."*

Madras Regulation VII of 1817 §

The preamble stated as follows:—

"Where as considerable endowments have been granted in money or by assignment of lands or of the produce or portion

of the produce of land by former Governments, of this country, as well as by the British Government, and by individuals for the support of Mosques, Hindu Temples, colleges and choultries and for other pious and beneficial purposes and where as there are grounds to believe that the produce of such endowments is in many instances appropriated contrary to the intention of the donors, to the personal use of the individuals in immediate charge and possession of such endowments, and where as it is the duty of the Government to provide that all such endowments to be applied according to the real intent and will of the grantor; and where as it is moreover expedient to provide for the maintenance and repair of bridges, choultries, Chuttrums and other buildings which have been erected either at the expense of Government or of individuals for the use and convenience of the public and also to establish proper rules for the custody and disposal of escheat; the following rules have been enacted to be in force from the date of the promulgation throughout the provinces immediately dependent on the Fort St. George.

The General Superintendence of all endowments in land, or money granted for the support of mosques etc. and of bridges, choultries and other public buildings vested in the Board of Revenue the Board to take measures for the due appropriation of such endowment and for the due repair of public edifices.

The Government of Madras who took upon themselves the management of the Hindu religious endowments under Regulation VII of 1817, under the pressure of the Home authorities, under the influence of the missionaries dissociated themselves from idolatry and severed their connection with those institutions in 1842--43. This question was the subject of a prolonged correspondence and a Blue Book on Idolatry was issued. The institutions were handed over to certain M attams and their successors.

*Around the city ~~by~~ pagodas.—V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar M. A. Lecturer, University of Madras. The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume. P. 355.

§ Identical with the original Regulation of 1810. See P. 27 *Supra*.

Under the Government administration of the Pagoda revenues there were large yearly accumulations of funds left in the treasury after meeting every necessary expenditure. This amounted to several lakhs of rupees by the time the Government handed over the pagodas. This amount was retained by the Government and spent for works of Public utility.

For twenty years (i. e.) until the Pagoda Committees Act XX of 1867 was passed by the supreme Government there was this anomaly that with the regulation VII of 1817 still on the statute book and the legal obligation imposed by it, the institutions were left practically unprotected. During this period, the trustees enriched themselves and mismanaged the pagoda funds, allowed the pagodas to decay. The Pagoda Committees appointed under Act XX of 1867 did not answer the purpose. The same state of affairs prevailed in Bengal and there were loud protests against this callousness on the part of the Government.*

Letters 1836-1839
The following extracts from letters † written by an English lady (Julia C. Maitland ?) the wife of a District and Circuit Judge in the Northern Circars show how the East India Company was for a long time encouraging the 'heathen' religions of the Hindus and Mussalmans and how impatient the missionaries and their friends, the officials, were to christianise the people of India.

8th March 1838.

To day's Gazette brings word that Government have just issued their orders that "no salutes to idols be discontinued, but that all respect be paid to the native religions as heretofore. Is not this disgraceful? Accordingly a fortnight ago, at a Mohammedan festival at Trichinopoly, the European troops—Artillery men—were kept exposed to the sun for nine hours

firing salutes, and 'showing respects' to Mohammed.

The Government lately presented a shawl to a Hindoo idol, and the Government officer, Mr. D. with whom we are acquainted, was ordered to superintend the delivery of it. He does not pretend to be a religious man—a mere common place, hunting, card playing, dandy, but even he was disgusted at having such an office to perform: so he went with the shawl in his tonjan, and told the Brahmins they might come and take it, for that he would not touch it with his own fingers, to present it to a Swamy. At the same place the Swamy was making a progress in its car, and the officiating Brahmin came and told Mr. D. that it was always stopped at a certain point for want of sufficient offerings; so Mr. D. went to see about it and found that they always stuck a wedge under the wheel, which prevented its going on. He had the wedge knocked out, and gave orders that Swamy must arrive at his destination without delay, before all the poor offerers were ruined, or the cholera broken out, as generally happens at these horrid feasts, from the concourse of people, dirt, etc. In consequence of all this Mr. D. was much blamed and reprehended at Madras, for having caused the feasts to be hurried over more quickly than the Brahmins liked. The cars are drawn by men and very often these men are unwilling to leave their work for the service, and the Brahmins cannot catch as many as they want; so the Government order the Collectors to take unwilling men by force and make them drag the car.

I believe that if idolatry were merely tolerated and protected, the idol services would fall almost to nothing, from the indifference of the mass of people, but our Christian Government not only support and encourage it, but force it down the people's throats. They have made a law that the Heathen sepoy may not be flogged, but a Christian sepoy may. If a sepoy turns Christian, he is subject to a punishment

* Vide proceedings of the Madras Government Judicial department, 31 January 1872, the Report of Hon. V. Rama Iyengar, 17-3-1871. Revenue Register Vol. VII, PP III, 163.

† Letters from Madras by a Lady during 1836-1839. John Murray Albemarle Street 1843.

Julia Momas - wife of District Judge

which they are pleased to say would degrade a Heathen or a Mohammedan.

Ibid [Pp. 182—184]
August 31st, 1838.

* * *

Here is a story of the encouragement given to idolatry, which I know to be true. It took place about six weeks ago. A Collector happened to inquire the destination of a sum of money he was required to disburse. He found it was for a grand ceremony, performed by the order and at the expense of Government, in honour of a particular Idol. On making inquiries he found that the natives had requested to be allowed to take a part of the ceremony and the expense upon themselves, but the Government said 'No' they would do it all. Besides this, he learned that some years ago this wicked feast was first established. It was afterwards discontinued for ten years without the slightest murmur or symptom of discontent from the natives; and within the last two or three years it has been revived by the Government, and entirely kept up by them.

The Collector represented all this at Head-quarters (I saw a copy of his letter), petitioning that the natives might be allowed to conduct their feast without English interference, and showing how utterly gratuitous it was from the proof that the ceremonies had gone on for ten years without the English having anything to do with the matter, but he was answered that the Government thought it would be dangerous and inexpedient to make any alteration, and that the feast must be carried on in behalf of the English as usual?

Ibid [Pp. 211--213]
Samuldavy,
March 30th, 1839.

* * *

Here is a story for you, but it did not happen lately — There was a goddess carried in procession to one of the pagodas, and the Collector as usual, had to

supply the money: after the procession had advanced some way, the Brahmins came and told the Collector that it had stopped because the Goddess would not travel with only ten bullocks. The Collector gave ten more, and the Swamy went on another hundred yards, and the Bramin came back and said she was still discontented and wanted more. This put the Collector in a passion: he said she was a "greedy devil" and various other politesses; and if she could not be satisfied with thirty bullocks, he would chop her up. So he sent his peons to fetch her out of her car, and ordered them to chop her on the spot: the peons were afraid and ran away: Then he sent for the cook-boy, and made him chop her up before his eyes—and the Brahmins just took it all quietly and went home. I believe this is quite true; and the moral of it is—that the people would not be so very ready to raise rebellions as is pretended on deficiency of attention to the Swamies. The Collector was a very passionate man, but rather a favourite with the natives because he did not oppress them in money matters, which they care for much more than for Swamy. I must add, however, that 'A' — says my story of the Collector chopping the Swamy happened twenty years ago; and that no Collector in his senses would do such a thing now.

Ibid [Pp. 248-250]
April 16th, 1839.

* * *

Do you know that the Government has abolished the pilgrim-tax? It is a very good step towards leaving off their encouragement to idolatry. Mr. Hamilton received a letter from a Missionary who lives at one of the "Holy Shrines", giving an account of the last festival since the tax; and the compulsory attendance of the natives to drag the cars has been done away with. That part of his letter is so curious that I will copy it for you.

"I have just returned from a large Heathen festival held at the famous Beejanuggur. It is pleasing to find that the company have remitted the tax this year

to visitors, and I hear they have had nothing to do with the usual expenses of decoration of the car etc. No military were present as is usual; notwithstanding, the attendance was unprecedentedly small. I do not suppose there were above fifteen thousand persons present, when last year there were seventy thousand; and when Mr. Hands, twenty five years ago, attended the usual number was about two hundred thousand. This is a pleasing indication of the decline of idolatry. The scarcity of provisions and water, and the fear of cholera, no doubt kept many away, but the decrease of interest in the superstitions of the country, I hope, a larger number. I do hope that three or four years will shut up the festivities of Beejanuggur for ever. The Anagoondy Rajah brought all his people, and used all his influence, but the large car could only be drawn a few yards the first day, and on the next day instead of taking it to the end of the street, from which, they had conveyed it there, they never could have got it back, they brought it home to its place within about three yards, when, being exhausted, they left it there".

Ibid [Pp. 252-253.]
April 19th, 1839.

I have received a message from a Brahmin who sends word that he keeps a school in the village but has no books, and would be very glad "if Mistress please to give some books to teach the boys". You see that is a very good thing, because we can introduce Christian books instead of histories of their Gods. The misfortune is, there are not above six or eight books published in gentoo, and those are religious tracts, and disquisitions that children cannot possibly understand. Nobody knows how much elementary books for the natives are wanted. There was once a school-book society, but it has dwindled to nothing; and there was a sort of native college at Madras for educating Moonshes, and the Government was thinking of establishing schools up the country. Several were established, and though they were not Christian schools, still they were much better than nothing; but they are all done away with now; there are neither

schools nor colleges now. Still if every Civilian up country were to have a poor little school like ours, it would do something in time; but numbers of them disapprove as they say of everything of this kind. Mr. L — set up a school at Cocanada; he had fifty boys and a capital master, much better than ours; but he was not here when we took ours, and now we do not like to turn ours away as he does his best. L —'s school was going on very nicely when he was obliged to go to England on sick certificate; he asked the Collector to keep up his school, but the Collector thought the natives were better without education, and refused; so the school is broke up, which I am very sorry for.

Ibid [Pp. 253-255]
Samuldavy,
June 10th, 1839.

A little while ago two young Parsees were baptized at ~~Bombay~~; and there is every reason to suppose they were real converts. Their countrymen were furious and assembled in crowds around them, as they left the Church, using most violent menaces; and there were great apprehensions of a great uproar, but the two poor young Christians were rescued. The Government have taken measures to protect them and keep the peace, and all is quiet again. I believe it never was anything more than the bluster of a mob, but the two poor boys might have been hurt.

[Pp. 268-269]

Madras,
July 31st 1839.

There is always something doing in the way of our schools, and certainly an increasing desire among the natives for instruction, and an increasing willingness to receive our books. Towards the south they are more bigoted, and their bigotry is greatly increased by timid or ungodly

Europeans, who really put objections into their heads; but at Rajahmundry where they had never heard of hesitations and difficulties we used to receive applications for books from quite distant villages, and especially for any portion of Scripture and the people used to sit in our reading-room for hours; copying our books on their own little cadjan-leaves. It is very remarkable that, here at Madras, people are declining to help the schools in which Bible is taught, under the old pretence of its being "a dangerous interference with Native feelings" etc; while not two streets from the English school which is dwindling away for want of support, there is a common Native Brahminee school, in which the Brahmin uses the Bible as a school-book, of his own accord, because he happens to like it, and no idea of difficulty enters his mind or those of his scholars, though they are all Heathens of a high and prejudiced caste. The Missionaries publish many tracts, of which some are very good, but, the greater number are not sufficiently simple, and the tracts which come from England are altogether un-Indian, and unfit to translate. We want an Indian Hannah More.

Ibid [Pp. 274—275.
November 5th 1839.

I am very sorry indeed for the poor people already so impoverished by two years' scarcity and constant heavy taxation. The Collectors are chiefly bent upon keeping the revenue what ever might happen, and the poor people suffer terribly when they have an additional drawback. A "crack collector" as the phrase goes is one who makes a point of keeping up the usual revenue in defiance of impossibilities. There may be a famine, a hurricane; half the cultivators may take a refuge in another district in despair; there may seem no possible means of obtaining the money but still the Collector bullies, tyrannizes, starves the people—does what he pleases in short,—and contrives to send in the usual sum to the Board of Revenue and is said to be a "crack collector."

Ibid [P. p. 297.298]

§ See *Life of Gazula Lakshmi Narayana Chetty in Representative men of Southern India by G Parameswaram Pillai 1896 PP 147-149*

§ The missionaries who had come out to India with the ostensible object of disseminating the learning and the literature of the West, after a very short residence in this country, made their original object a secondary one and set about proselytizing. Few Hindus knew the English language and as a knowledge of it was a condition precedent to the securing of any situation in Government Offices, they were driven to the necessity of sending their children to missionary institutions for education. The missionaries converted the indigent and the helpless among them not withstanding their tender years. The few Englishmen who held positions of any degree of authority or influence in the Presidency espoused the cause of the missionaries. One Mr. Thomas, Collector of Tinnevely from 28-3-1843, openly co-operated with the missionaries in his district in their efforts to spread the Christian religion. Sir William Burton, a Judge of the Madras Supreme Court, (1844-57) made no secret of his sympathy with the cause of the missionaries and now and then delivered sermons from his seat on the bench to the Hindus. Mr. J. F. Thomas the then Chief Secretary to Government, (1844-45) and a close relation of Mr. E. B. Thomas, Collector of Tinnevely, provided Hindu converts to Christianity with appointments under Government in preference to Hindus. Mr. Morehead, who was the District Judge of Chengalput, from 15-8-43 postponed the hearing of causes set down on a certain day's list and threw his court house open to a preacher of the Gospel. The Madras Government carried their partiality for the Christian religion to such an extent as to remove from the Sadr Court 1846 a Judge who refused to carry out their unjust dictates. The following passage from Mr Lewin's reply to an address from the Hindu community depicts the Government of the day in their true colours:—

"Had the Government met with no resistance in their attempt to coerce the judges of the Sadr Court into measures fatal to impartial justice, it is probable the

next attempt would have been an open and undisguised one to force Christianity upon the Hindus. Although the Marquis of Tweeddale (Governor of Madras between 1842-47) has disclaimed these views, experience has abundantly proved that there were parties connected with the Government who had the will and the means to carry them out. The conduct of the Government towards the Sadr Court forced the Judges to resist an order which no Judge who knew his duty could submit to; that resistance was the first step of a scheme which was devised for the removal of the second Judge who had been more than once obliged to inform the Government that he was prepared at all hazards to uphold the integrity of his Court and to prevent its being made an instrument of injustice.*

The regime of Marquis Tweeddale as Governor of Madras is marked by missionary influence everywhere. The Marquis was Governor of Madras from 24-9-42 to 3-2-1847. John Fryer Thomas was Revenue Secretary in 1843 and chief secretary in 1844 and on 30-1-1845 he became permanent chief secretary. Member in council in 1850. Sir W. W. Burton was Puisne Judge of the Supreme court from 29-7-1844 to 15-3-1857. Sir Edward Gambier was chief justice from 22-5-42 to June 1848.

The high officials of the Madras Government were all connected with the Christian societies of Madras. The chief justice of the supreme court, Madras, the Commander in chief, the members of the council were all on the committee of the Military Male Orphan Asylum.

Mr. J. F. Thomas who became chief secretary of Madras Government on 30-1-1845 was a member of the committee of the South India Mission of the Church

Missionary society. He was also on the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society and on the committee of the Madras School Book Society.

The Governor was the President of Female Orphan Asylum. The Lord Bishop, Mr. J. F. Thomas, and Sir William Burton, Puisne Judge of Supreme Court were vice presidents of the Female Asylum.

The malpractices of the Missionaries and the open and undisguised manner in which they were encouraged by Government Officials incensed the Hindu community greatly and Gazula Lakshminarasu Chetty, a rich and patriotic Andhra merchant of Madras, resolved to do all that lay in his power to check the violation of the pledges which the British Power had given the people of India not to interfere with their religious observances. Just then there was in existence a newspaper called the *Native Circulator* edited by one Narayanaswamy Naidu. Lakshminarasu Chetty purchased the paper and the press, changed the name of the paper to that of the *Crescent* and secured the services of one Mr. Harley as Editor. Mr. Harley was previously serving in the Army and brought to the conduct of his journal his military spirit and an untractable disposition. He was a man of very strong convictions. The first issue of the *Crescent* was given to the world on the 2nd October 1844. The object of the paper was stated to be "the amelioration of the condition of the Hindus." The *Crescent* was intended to act as a corrective on the *Record*, the declared missionary organ. It set itself to condemn the malpractices of the missionaries and expose their vagaries. For a time the *Crescent* incurred some odium. But in spite of all difficulties it firmly maintained its ground. The Judges and executive officials smarted

* Messrs Malcolm Lewin, George Jenkins Waters and Thomas Ebenezer, John Boleen: all of the Indian civil service and judges of the Sadr and Fouzduree-Audalst Court were suspended in 1846. The people were agitated over this action and great discussions took place in Madras. Mr. Malcom Lewin was appointed as a provisional member of the council of the Government of Madras on 10-9-1845. His appointment was cancelled by the Directors. These three gentlemen were retired on annuity in 1847.

under its scathing criticism, and unable to beat it by facts or reasoning, secretly assisted the work of the missionaries while they appeared impartial in the eyes of the public. The Government denied to the *Crescent* the smaller privileges which they willingly accorded to other newspapers of the day. The manager of the *Crescent* sent an advertisement to the Government office regarding itself for insertion in the *Fort St. George Gazette*. The advertisement was returned as inadmissible with the endorsement of the Chief Secretary to Government that it was "of a character not usually inserted."*

In 1844, The Wesleyan and American Missionaries opened chapels in Madras. The members of the Free Church of Scotland constituted themselves into a Presbytery. The Lutheran and German Missionaries also began their labours. Violent discussion on the subject of religious liberty began to take place in Madras.

With considerable wealth at his command, Lakshminarasu Chetty grew rather indifferent to his business and gave himself up heart and soul, to the task of achieving the political emancipation of his countrymen. The Hindus at the time not having had the benefit of English education, were entirely ignorant of the Government to which they were the subjects. To the suffering ignorant Hindus the executive authorities in Madras constituted the entire ruling body. They did not know that these were subject to the authoritative control of a Board in England and that they could make representations to the Board about their grievances. Lakshminarasu Chetty was one of the few exceptions. He started the Madras Native Association of which he became President, for the purpose of ventilating from time to time on perfectly constitutional lines the people's grievances. Wealthy merchants and respectable non-officials became members of the Association and did very useful work. Meetings were often held for considering the grievances of the people and memorials were despatched to England for their redress.‡

Meanwhile, the Government Officials, to place the worldly prospects of converts

above all danger, determined to use their powers of legislation for their good and to enact a law under the provisions of which Hindu youths may become converts to Christianity without the slightest prejudice to their right in the property owned by their family. The Hindu community protested against the measure and Lakshminarasu Chetty convened on the 9th April, 1845, a meeting of the native inhabitants of Madras to draw up a memorial to the Supreme Government. The meeting was very very largely attended and in pursuance of the unanimous resolution of the members, a memorial was drawn up and sent to England complaining of the intended alteration in the law and protesting against the abrogation of the social and religious usages of the natives. The memorial reached the Supreme Government in due course and was accorded proper consideration. After some correspondence between the local and the Supreme Governments, the memorialists were informed that the obnoxious provisions of the enactment which had necessitated the memorial would be expunged from the Act.♦

Although the Madras University started by Lord Elphinstone in 1841 was a purely secular institution, and intended to give a purely secular education to the natives, the Missionaries began to resort to various devices to encourage the introduction of Christian Theology and Bible and proselytization.

The Missionaries and their friends who were appointed as Inspectors to test the progress of the students of the Government High School would question the boys on Christian Theology and declare the Hindu boys who did not answer properly as ineligible for Government appointment. When the natives murmured, they would say that the difficulty would be got over if Bible were introduced as a class book.♦

On 24.8.1846 the Marquis of Tweeddale wrote a minute as Governor accepting the proposition of the Council of Education to adopt the Bible as a class book,

* *Representative men of Southern India* pp 149-151

‡ *Ibid* pp 146-147 ♦ *Ibid* 151-153

thus directly using the educational funds entrusted to the Madras Government for proselytization. The minute excited much discussion in India.

The attempts to introduce the Bible as a class book in Government schools: -

The Natives of Madras in their petition, (vide petition of the Madras Native Association, Para 86) say: "That your petitioners cannot avoid remarking that the desire of the Madras Government with regard to rendering the educational funds committed to its trust subservient to the purposes of proselytism, is of some standing." The Marquis of Tweeddale, while entertaining the proposition of the Council of Education to adopt the Bible as a *class book*, recorded his approbation of the measure, observing, in a minute dated the 24th of August 1846 — "the value of a religious and practical education, to fit our countrymen for the various duties of life, has been established beyond all doubt." If the Council of Education made such a proposition, they must have been ignorant of the fact, that in the National schools in Ireland where both Roman Catholics and Protestants are educated, the Bible is not allowed to be a "Class Book". These Indian schools are composed of both Mohammedans and Hindoos. We do not do these things in Bengal and I believe not at Bombay p. 19. Hence the Bible as proposed at Madras, should not be a class Book in the public schools, p. 24 *

The attempt to introduce the Bible as a class book in Government schools was revived in 1853. Mr. John Bruce Norton wrote in his letter to the joint Secretary, Board of Control on 1-2-1854 that himself one of the Governors of the Madras University, Mr. George Norton, the President and the whole body of Hindu Governors save one, had lately felt constrained to resign. (Page 26) At page 123 of the

same book he refers to the vexed question of the introduction of Bible in Schools as a Government measure. He says: The Natives of India owe a deep debt of gratitude to the missionaries for the sound education afforded in the schools established by them: nor have the people any just right to complain, if occasionally one of their members becomes a convert to Christianity through attendance at those seminaries. They send their children there with a perfect knowledge that the Bible is necessarily a portion of the studies; and that the *hope* of the missionaries is conversion. I say *hope* because I am not aware that the missionaries have ever taken unfair measures towards Proselytism. On the contrary, where a pupil evinces a disposition to embrace Christianity, ample time is always afforded him for mature consideration and extended means of forming a judgment before deciding; and I admire the steadfastness of the missionaries through evil and good report, in the avowed pursuit of their self imposed task. I think such schools are most deserving of all practicable support. My last act, as a Governor of the Madras University was to support the grant-in-aid system: and to the honour of the Native Governors be it spoken, they also were unanimous in their support of that proposition. They could not be blind to the consequences, where as in this Presidency, almost the only schools yet established are Missionary: or to the chance of a proselytizing Government abusing the power. Roused as their fears were during the Government of Lord Tweeddale, they would never have given their consent to such a measure; but their belief that the present Government entertains no such notion, no doubt, induced them to give their assent.

But beyond this I cannot go. I doubt if it be possible to introduce the Bible into the Government schools at all. I can

"India as it ought to be under the new Charter Act; Improvements suggested." Major William Hough, Bengal retired officer, many years a Dy. Judge, Advocate general, Bengal army.

(Mr. Hough arrived at Calcutta in 1806 and served 40 years.) London. W. Thacker & Co New Gate St. 1853

*3 Petition sent on 10-12-1852 under the guidance of
Gazula Lalshree Narayan Chetty.*

imagine no other measure so likely to shake our rule to its foundation and as to its introduction simply "as a class-book" that, if feasible, would be simply a sham and false pretence. Indeed the very Natives who supported the grant-in-aid subsequently retired in a body on the Bible question" (Letter of J. B. Norton on the condition and requirements of the Presidency of Madras 1-2-1854, P. 123)

Owing to the united efforts of Mr. George Norton, John Bruce Norton and Mr. Gazula Lakshminarasu Chetty, the new attempt of the missionaries in 1853 to introduce the Bible as a class book in Government schools fell through. The evidence taken before the Lord's Committee in connection with the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company set at rest this question.

Lakshminarasu Chetty convened again in Pachaiyappa's institution a public meeting of Hindus on the 7th October, 1846, over which he presided. It was resolved that a memorial be addressed to the Honorable the Court of Directors setting forth their grievances and praying for redress. A memorial was accordingly drawn up describing concisely the pledges which had been given, ensuring the religious neutrality of Government, the unscrupulous violations of these sacred pledges during the regime of the Marquis of Tweeddale, the conversion policy of the Missionaries, the active co-operation of Government officials with them, the apathy of the Governor in the matter of founding schools for the diffusion of European knowledge in the interior of the Presidency, the attempts of the missionaries to prevent the natives from passing competitive examinations, the disinclination of the local authorities to employ natives largely in offices under Government, the perversion of justice in courts owing to missionary influence and many other wrongs to which the natives were subjected. The deliberations of the meeting were thoroughly orderly and there was no trace of disloyalty or insubordination to the paramount power about them. Still it was alleged that the Chairman's address and the whole proceed-

ings generally were calculated to foster a rebellious spirit in the audience and to wean the allegiance of the Hindus to their British Rulers. All that Lakshminarasu Chetty said was "we believe that by a mild and firm representation of our grievances to the superior authorities we shall obtain justice and redress." The Sheriff, Mr. Leonard Cooper went out of his way to dissuade those assembled at the meeting from signing the memorial. But notwithstanding the intervention of the Sheriff, more than twelve thousand people signed it. The memorial was forwarded through the local Government to the Honorable the Court of Directors, and the local Government passed their own remarks upon the allegations contained in it, characterizing them as founded on utter ignorance of the doings of Government and "partial extracts of official documents surreptitiously published." The memorial, we believe was shelved for the nonce in consideration of the observations of the Governor which accompanied it to the Honorable the Court of Directors. §

Until May 1830 when Dr. Alexander Duff (1806-1878) the famous Scottish Missionary came to Calcutta, the protestant missionaries in India had been successful only in reaching low caste and out-caste peoples particularly in Tinnevely and South Travancore. The Hindu and Mahomedan Communities had been practically untouched. Duff therefore devised the policy of an educational Mission. He first opened an English School in which the Bible was the centre of school work, and along with it all kinds of secular knowledge were taught from the rudiments upwards to a University Standard. The School began to expand into a missionary College.

The first great victory in the proselytization of high caste Hindus was won by Duff, when he baptised Krishna Mohan Banerji belonging to an orthodox Brahmin family in 1832. Krishna Mohan was a brilliant young man, who came into contact with Professor Derozio of the Hindu College, openly defied and attacked the Hindu Religion and Customs and was driven out of his home in 1831 and cut off from

§ Representative man of Southern India PP. 151-153

the society. Krishna Mohan became acquainted with Dr. Duff, studied the tenets of Christianity and fell into the company of Christian friends and was baptized by Duff in 1832. Krishnamohan became an ardent Christian, and toured the country doing propaganda. In 1835 he claimed his wife from the custody of her parents and got her with the aid of a Magistrate. All this agitated the public mind at that time. In 1835 the Government adopted a minute saying that the object of higher education should be the promotion of European Science and literature among the natives of India. This was another triumph for Duff. After six years of furlough, Duff returned to India in 1840. In 1839 the Earl of Auckland had yielded to the Orientalists who opposed Duff and adopted a policy which was a compromise between the two. At the Disruption of 1843, Duff sided with the Free Church, gave up the college buildings and started a new institution which was called the Scottish Church College.

He had the support of Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Lawrence in his work. He was soon encouraged by seeing a new band of converts including several young men of high caste. (Encyclopaedia Britannica) Lalbehari Dey, the famous author of Folk Tales of Bengal Peasant Life, Kalicharan Banerji who became Registrar of the Calcutta University and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the famous poet, were some of the converts of the time. In 1844 Viscount Hardinge opened the Government appointments to all who had studied in institutions similar to Duff's foundation. In the same year, Duff took a prominent part in founding the Calcutta Review of which from 1845 to 1849 he was the editor. In 1849 he returned home. He came to India again in 1856 and devoted much thought and time to the Calcutta University. In 1863 he was offered the post of Vice Chancellor but he had to leave India owing to bad health.

The missionaries who purposely entered the educational field for proselytization gained their object. Very soon everywhere they began to influence the young pupils to abandon their Hindu customs and even their parents. Very soon cases of Habeas Corpus about the custody of minor children began to come up before the Supreme Courts of India. Reverend John Anderson, a missionary of the church of Scotland a masterful personality came to Madras from Scotland in 1837. He established a school in Black Town on 3-4-1837. His influence was very soon felt. By October 1838; his school had 270 pupils when the first clash with caste system occurred. He admitted three Pariah students into the School. The parents of the Hindu pupils objected, but Rev. Anderson persisted. One hundred Hindu pupils were withdrawn en bloc; he did not yield and triumphed.

In 1841 P. Rajagopal and A. Venkatramiah were baptized, mainly by the influence of Reverend Anderson. A storm of protest and fury burst upon the Missionaries. "Slanders on every side, falsehoods and monstrous lies in regard to us and our schools." When it was suggested to Rajagopal in Court that the Missionaries must have offered him some unworthy inducement he answered "nothing but Jesus Christ crucified." Anderson's school survived all this storm.

In 1843 two cases came before the supreme court of Bombay in which writs of Habeas Corpus were issued against missionaries for the production of minor children. (The Queen Vs. Rev. Robert Nesbitt and the Queen Vs. Chapurji Bezonji and Bezonji Edalji) Sir Erskine Perry who was chief Justice of Bombay Supreme Court wrote about them. "In both these cases strong passions and excitement existed on the part of the Native community and perhaps no less vehement feelings on the part of the zealous body of missionaries who were assisting their christian converts to assert their supposed rights and claims!"

* Cases illustrative of Oriental Life decided in the Supreme Court of Bombay; Sir Erskine Perry; Page 520.

*True of old friends in the mission field. Life and labours of
Rev. John Anderson and Robert Johnston. Free Church Mission
run by John Braidwood MA 1862*

These cases illustrate the spirit of the times all over India.

The facts of *Queen Vs. Rev. Robert Nesbitt* are very interesting and worth recapitulating.

Reverend Robert Nesbitt was the head of the school of the Church of Scotland since 1838. One Narayan was educated in that school. In 1841 his brother Shripat Seshadri was also placed in the same school with the consent of his father Govind. Narayan and Shripat were living at the house of Nesbitt. Narayan embraced Christian religion in September 1843. For 15 months his brother did not join in the worship of Hindu deities or attend ceremonies of Hindu religion except the caste mark. Since living in the house of Nesbitt they had taken food not lawful to Hindus to eat.

Govind filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court of Bombay and obtained a Habeas Corpus to bring the body of Shripat on the ground he was only 12 years old and was forcibly detained from him by Nesbitt. The ~~Dept.~~ Roper C. J. & Perry J. held that the father was entitled to custody of his son. The proposal that we should examine the child is out of the question. Very probably such an examination would end in theological examination between us and the boy, a thing that would be quite preposterous.

The court is not at liberty to draw any distinctions between the different religious creeds existing in this country, or to favour one more than the other. The court ordered that the boy should be given up to the father.*

Sir E. Perry wrote a foot note in 1853 to the above case, showing the conflict of judicial opinion on the point. The Supreme Court at Calcutta arrived at a different conclusion in a case much similar to the above, a short time after the above

decision (1844.) On the principle that Habeas Corpus was intended to prevent illegal restraint and that if the child on being brought into court do not appear to be under illegal restraint and was of an age to choose for himself, the court would allow him to exercise his discretion where he would go. The boy in this case who had been a pupil in Dr. Duff's school and was a convert to Christian religion was about fourteen years of age and expressed his wish to remain with Dr. Duff and not to go to his father. The court allowed him to do so. And in 1847 the Supreme Court at Calcutta pronounced a similar decision.

Devendranath Tagore tells us in his auto-biography how in 1845 Rajendranath Sarkar, a clerk of his Bank complained to Devendranath Tagore, that while his wife and his brother's wife were going in a carriage, his brother suddenly came and took her away to the house of Dr. Duff to become converts to Christianity, that his father tried his best to bring them home in vain, that he filed a suit in the Supreme Court without success; and that in spite of their requesting Dr. Duff to wait till the disposal of a second suit which they were about to file, he converted them into Christianity.

Devendranath was moved by this incident: He at once asked Akshayakumar Dutt, the gifted editor of the *Tatwabodhini Patrica* to write an article about these conversions.

Akshayakumar wrote a powerful article about the Christian menace to Hinduism and exhorted Hindus to keep the boys away from the Missionary influence, and refrain from sending them to their schools. He pointed out the disgrace of not establishing a single Hindu school while the Missionaries are starting schools in every town and village. He pleaded for unity and establishment of a Hindu school.

* (Condensed from the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, 1843. Cases illustrative of Oriental life, Sir Erskine Perry. 1853 P. 103.)

Devendranath himself began to carry on propaganda among the rich gentlemen of Calcutta about the necessity for establishing a school for Hindu Boys with a view to prevent them from going to the Missionary Schools. He met Raja Radhakant Deb, Raja Satyacharan Ghosal, leaders of the Orthodox, or the Dharma Sabha party and Ram Gopal Ghose and others of the Reform party and convinced them of the need for immediate action. On account of this common danger the differences of the Dharma Sabha and Brahma Sabha disappeared. Both Parties joined together and began to work for preventing the boys from going to mission schools and the missionaries from converting them. A big meeting was convened on JeshtaSuddha 13. A thousand people attended the meeting. The meeting resolved to establish a school to give free education to Hindu Boys just like the free schools of the missionaries. Devendranath and others opened a subscription list. Rs. 40,000/- were subscribed on the spot. The Hindu Hithardhi Vidyalaya was started. Radhakant Dev was President and Devendranath and Hari-mohan Sen were the secretaries of the Board of management. From that day the stream of Christian conversion was arrested and declined.

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In 1846 three youths having asked to be baptized in Madras, disturbance broke out. In one case the natives appealed to the Supreme Court of Madras. The Court after a lengthened cross-examination into the Christian knowledge of a young convert held that he was old enough to act for himself and refused to make an order on

Habeas Corpus to give him up to his father. The mob attacked the carriage in which he was being conveyed back to the missionaries. The feelings were then so high.

A very interesting case came up before the Supreme Court of Madras in 1847 about the custody of a minor girl. An affidavit was filed showing that she was examined by two Doctors in the employ of the East India Company on 19.4.1847 in the presence of a Reverend gentleman and they certified that she was about 12 years of age. The Court acted on the certificate and adjudged possession of the girl to the missionaries. This was referred to by J. Talboys Wheeler in his Chronological Annals of Madras and also by the Madras Native Petition, dated 10-12-1852.

Five girls were baptized in Madras in 1847 and the Hindus were all agitated over it.

The case of Lutchmee Ammal Vs. Streenivasa* in the Supreme Court of Madras is a 'cause celebre.' When the 15 year old wife of a Hindu convert refused to live with him on the ground of his conversion, she was brought into court on 7.6.1851 on a Writ of Habeas Corpus issued by Sir William Burton, Puisne Judge. He ordered her to be delivered to her husband. He asked her to walk over to her husband who was sitting on the other side. She refused. She would not give her hand to her husband. It was found necessary to have her carried by one of the European constables to his Lordship's room. The aunt and father of the girl yelled and the old woman screeched,

* Oriental Christian Spectator, July 1851; Cases illustrative of Oriental Life decided in the Supreme Court at Bombay--Sir Erskine Perry P. 516.

tore her hair, and tried to reach the girl. She was forcibly held back by two or three men. 500 Brahmins who gathered in the Court compound yelled and were dispersed by force.

Exparte Balaram in the Supreme Court at Bombay decided by Sir Erskine Perry on 25th September 1852 is a very interesting case on this question.*

Pootlabai, aged 14, the wife of Balaram Ganapat, left his house in March 1852 and lived with her mother as he ceased to join in the various ceremonies of Hindu Religion. He was baptized on 16th September and on 23rd September he applied to Perry C. J. for a habeas corpus to bring up the body of his wife. Perry C. J. refused to order her to be delivered to her husband as she was not under restraint.

He observed about the decision of Sir W. Burton in the case of Lutchmee Ammal:

"I consider the decision entirely at variance with all the principles that had previously ruled in this Court and so unsupported by any decision in our collection of Jurisprudence now ranging over more than three hundred years, that I feel unable to surrender deliberate convictions which I have formed after long and careful study of authorities in deference to a single decision."

"In all these cases of conflicting personal rights wherein social interest and different religious persuasions so strongly combine to call the most potent feelings of our nature into operation and thus cloud the judgment in cases which have already occurred and which will occur in Indian Courts of Justice. There is one simple clue for ascertaining what the dictates of Justice require ... I always ask myself what the sound decision would appear to me to be if my own case had to be presented to a Hindu or Mussalman Judge. There are millions of Christians in Europe living under Musulman sway, and in the vicissitudes characterising

the present age, it would not be at all an improbable occurrence that an Englishman and his wife should become domiciled in Turkey and thereupon Turkish subjects. If then the Christian husband apostatized from his faith and then availed himself of the privileges of the Law belonging to Muhamadan husbands I would ask what the legal condition of the Christian wife would become? If she fled from the harem and the companions there imposed upon her, and sought refuge under her father's roof, would the decree of any court in which the immutable dictates of justice prevail, compel her forcibly to return to the home and arms of a man whom she loathed as a renegade? If no Christian tribunal could pronounce such a decree in the case of a Christian wife, it is obvious that a court of justice set down in the midst of a Hindu community must pronounce a decision founded on the same broad views of justice in behalf of the equally conscientious scruples and repugnance of a Hindu female. But it is not incumbent on me to carry out this view of the case further."

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The Caste Disabilities Removal Act XXI of 1850 was passed into law on 11-4-1850.

According to the Hindu Law and usage if a Hindu renounces his religion or is excluded from the communion of that religion or is deprived of caste, such renunciation, exclusion or deprivation entails forfeiture of his rights and property, and deprives him of his right of inheritance. The effect of the above mentioned Act was that these consequences ceased to be enforced as law in the Courts of India.

Three ^{weeks} months before the publication of the Act the missionaries of Calcutta had addressed a letter to the Governor General urging the necessity. The Natives of the various provinces of India petitioned for the abrogation of the Act of the Supreme Government in vain.

* See Cases illustrative of Oriental Life, Sir E. Perry, Page 516.

The Lex Loci Act as it was called was a direct attack upon the Hindu religion and produced unmitigated opposition. In fact in no period of the History of British rule in India did the Hindu population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa come forward so unanimously to support constitutional resistance to the proposed law and used such severe language in the memorial to the Court of Directors. A Monster meeting was held in Calcutta and a memorial was sent.

In Madras also the Caste Disabilities Act evoked great excitement. The Madras Native Association protested in a petition. The British Indian Association was formed in Calcutta and lodged its protest.

Sir William Burton, Puisne Judge of Madras Supreme Court declared that the Lex Loci Act was passed not to encourage a change from one religion to another but to secure the liberty of conscience and "equal rights to all." "This Act" he said is the great charter of religious freedom" (See Protestant Missions—Rev. C.H. Monohan. The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume, P. 349.)

Major William Hough wrote in 1853 in his book "India as it ought to be":—

"The Natives of India petitioned the Parliament for the abrogation of Act XXI of 1850 passed by the Supreme Government of India.

The Petitioners say, "your present petitioners are the inhabitants of three different provinces, and by reason of some local differences between the Hindu Law of Bengal from that of Bihar and Orissa, they are not all necessarily affected by the said Act in the same manner. In Bengal, but not in Behar and Orissa nor generally in the rest of India, the Hindus may legally make a will of the whole of their property, and thereby, they have the power of securing it to those who will respect its consecrated uses, and the trusts to which it is subject for the benefit of ancestors.

But all your petitioners alike regard the Act in its entirety as subversive of Hindu society." (Para 12)

They again say, "your petitioners are not insensible to the peculiar case of such of their countrymen, especially the young and inexperienced, as have been gained over to professing to be Christians. But your petitioners submit, their becoming Christians does not entitle them to the benefit of special legislation. Their desertion of the religion of their country, opens to many of them a career of fortune in which their brother Hindus cannot follow them, and no converts from the faith of a nation were ever so favourably circumstanced as are Hindu Christians." But it is time to introduce my cases, as the Act affects wives and children - another branch of the question.

Case 1—On the 14th of February 1851, * Narayan Ramachander of Ahmednuggur, became a Christian convert. His wife would not follow him, but left him, and took her child with her, a boy of seven years age. He instituted a suit before the Principal Sudder Ameen. He decided in favour of the Law of the defendant, and gave the wife the guardianship of the child! The husband appealed to the Sudder Adawlut, of Bombay. In the meantime, Act XXI of 1850 had become Law. The Sitting Judge Mr. P. W. Le Geyt decided in favour of the father, contrary to the Hindu Law.

Case 2. "Convert Rights" —† Sreenivassa, a Brahmin had become a Christian convert. His wife left him at the desire of her father, the wife (Lutchmee Ummal) aged fifteen years was brought into the Madras Supreme Court by writ of Habeas Corpus, on the 7th of June 1851. The Advocate General (Mr. G. Norton) moved that Lutchmee Ummal be returned to her husband. The Judge, (Sir W. Burton) who presided, gave his decision under the Act XXI of 1850, "the liberty of conscience Act". The wife had come into

* Madras Athenaeum, April 12th, 1851, P. 50.

† See Madras Overland Athenaeum, 9th July, 1851, P. 126 (Friend of India, 26th June, 1851, P. 402.

court attended by her aunt, her father, a host of relations, and about 500 Brahmins, "His Lordship ordered the wife to walk over to the other side of the court, to the place where her husband was seated, but she refused." "She was therefore, carried by one of the constables, to the Judge's room," etc. "Lastly, the 500 Brahmins outside yelled and clenched their fists and seemed inclined to carry the place by storm, till they were at length expelled by main force from the compound". In fact it was a most disgraceful affair.

Case 3. (The same kind of case). At Bombay Ballaram Gunput, a Hindu convert to Christianity, married in 1850, his wife Pootlabae, then about fourteen years of age. The husband became a Christian on the 16th of September 1850. His wife left him and lived with her mother. Mr. Dickenson, the husband's counsel, applied for a writ of "Habeas corpus." Sir Erskine Perry, the Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme court, said he differed very decidedly from the opinion of Sir W. Burton. He said "if a Christian chose to indulge in the luxury of having four wives (having become a Mahammedan) he could not compel his (Christian) wife to live with him. No court of Law would compel her." The same principle, in his opinion, is in accordance with Law.* Application refused.* These two cases prove that Her Majesty's Supreme courts make mistakes as well as the Madras Company's courts of Civil Judicature.

Case No. 4:— In the petition of the Madras Native Association etc, dated 10th of December 1852, para 99, the following case is quoted. "That the second instance regarding missionary interference happened in—1847, the child in dispute being a female named—upon which occasion—alluding to the former decision in the case of—acknowledged that, "had the object of his choice been bad, I should have come to another decision." There was however, no occasion this time to substitute discretion and a good choice in the place of age, as an

affidavit was put into court from two doctors in the company's service to this effect:—"We, upon our oaths, say that we did, at the request, and in the presence of the Reverend—on the 19th April 1847, examine and inspect the person of— and that we are of opinion that the said—is of the age of twelve years, or thereabouts," "and accordingly the court adjudged the possession of the girl, thus shamelessly and insultingly submitted to examination, and inspection by three men, one of them a Christian minister" etc.

The Calcutta missionaries, about three weeks before the publication of the Act No. XXI of 1850 addressed a letter to the Governor-General, from which extracts are here given. "We deprecate any attempt to multiply conversions by favour or by force." "It (the Act XXI of 1850) offers no premiums, and inflicts no penalty. It enables the convert who seeks admission to the Christian Church, to obey the dictates of his conscience free from the dread of forfeiture, while at the same time, it leaves his relatives in possession of, precisely the same property which they had before," concluding "and we earnestly hope that undeterred by the sophistry which presents the Hindu or Mohammedan as injured, when no longer allowed to oppress his Christian relative, your Lordship in Council will pass into a Law, the Act, respecting which we have thus ventured to express our sentiments."†

It is strange that the missionaries should style the ancient Hindu Law, framed for years before the Christian era, as an Act of oppression. The Hindu Law was not framed to oppose Christianity. It was intended to regulate the morals and conduct of the Hindu people as a nation. The Hindu, if he became a Mohammedan or committed acts prohibited by his religion or Law, would become an out-caste so that the Hindu Law is general in its enactments.

In the petition to the Houses of Parlia-

* Allen's Indian Mail, 16th November, 1852.

† Madras Overland Athenaeum, 1850, P. 62, from the Calcutta Eastern Star, 23 March, 1850.

ment the Hindoos say (in para 7) 'if the son becomes a Christian, or from any other cause is deprived of caste the father is entitled by Hindu Law to adopt another son, who would by the same Law take the inheritance. The Act in question (XXI of 1850) by severing the inheritance from the adoption, as securing it to the original son, virtually and practically annuls the Hindu right of adoption. The Act would interfere with the Hindu by preventing an only son from performing the funeral obsequies of the father, for the Christian son could not do so; and as the adoption is prevented—the ceremony cannot take place.

The Act is to extend the provisions of Regulation VII, 1832, by the IX section of which it is declared, that in carrying out that regulation, in all such cases, the decision shall be governed by the principles of Justice, equity and good conscience it being clearly understood, however, that the Provisions shall not be considered as justifying the introduction of the English, or any foreign law, or the application to such cases of any rules not sanctioned by those principles." We might the Hon. Mr. Bethune have written 'I have prepared an Act (XXI of 1850) for this purpose though with some lingering doubt of the Justice of the measure.' (The Madras Petition, Para 92).*

The passing of Caste Disabilities Removal Act was a clear breach of the pledge of religious neutrality. The history of this legislation is very interesting:

The Acts of 21 of Geo. III Cap 70 (1781) and of the 37 Geo. III Cap 142 (1797) pledged the parliament of Great Britain not to interfere with the religious prejudices of the Natives of India.

Act 21 of Geo. III Sec. 18:—"And in order that regard should be had to the civil and religious usages of the said natives, be it enacted that the rights and authorities of fathers of families and masters of families, according to the same

way have been exercised by the Gentoo or Mohamedan Law shall be preserved to them respectively, within their said families; nor shall any acts done by in consequence of the rule and law of caste, respecting the members of the said families only, be held and adjudged a crime, although the same may not be held justifiable by the Laws of England."

"And to frame such process, and make such rules and orders for the execution thereof in suits civil or criminal against natives of Bengal Behar and Orissa, as may accomodate the same to the religions and manners of such natives, so far as the same consist with the due execution of the Laws and attainment of justice."

In 37 Geo. III Cap 142 (1797) Secs. 12 and 13 were enacted as a guide to the Supreme court of Fort William and for the Recorders' Courts at Madras and Bombay. It is a repetition of Act 21 of Geo. III.

3 and 4 William IV Cap 85 Sec. 53 (28 August 1833) in alluding to the framing of Laws by the Governor-General in Council, the following words are used:—"Due regard being had to the rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people" and due regard being had to the distinctions of castes, differences of religion, the manners and opinions prevailing among different races and in different parts of the said territories."

By Section 85 the Laws for the protection of the Natives are reiterated:—"by laws and regulations to provide with all convenient speed for the protection of the Natives of the said territories from insult and outrage, in their persons, religions, or opinions." Thus the Law was repeated for a third time.

Sec. IX. Regulation VII of 1832 of the Bengal Code enacted that 'whenever in a Civil Suit the parties belong to different persuasions when one party shall be a

* "India as it ought to be" under the New Charter Act, Improvements suggested by Major William Hough, many years a Deputy Judge, Advocate General (1853)

Hindu and the other of Mahomedan persuasions, or when one or more of the parties belong neither to the Hindu nor Musulman persuasions, the Laws of those religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which but for the operation of such Laws they would have been entitled. The latter clause was intended to admit Christians to set aside the Hindu Law. The Hindu convert to Christianity becomes an outcaste from Hinduism and forfeits his share of the ancestral property as according to Hindu Law inheritance depends upon the performing of religious ceremonies. This Law changed the rule.

Warren Hastings directed in 1772 by his 23rd rule for administration of Civil Justice in Bengal, that in all suits regarding marriage, inheritance, castes and other religious usages and institutions the laws of Koran with respect to Mohammedans and those of Shaster with respect to Gentus (Hindus) shall be invariably adhered to. Moulvis and Brahmins were directed to attend Courts and expound the law in framing decrees.

The Bengal Regulation (VII of 1832 whilst reenacting the rules of Warren Hastings which had been embodied in previous regulations, qualified their application by a provision which attracted little attention at the time but afterwards became the subject of considerable discussion. It declared that the rules are intended and shall be held to apply to such person as bonafide professes those religions, at the time of the application of the law to the Case and not for the deprivation of the rights of others. Where either of the parties were not either Hindus or Mohammedans the laws of those religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which but for the operation of such laws they would have been entitled. In all such cases the decision shall be governed by the principles of Justice, equity and good conscience and their provision shall not be considered as justifying the introduction of the English or any foreign law or the applications of such cases of any rules not sanctioned by those principles.

In the year 1850 the Government of India passed Act XXI of 1850 of which the object was to extend the principles of this regulation throughout the territories subject to the Government of East India Company. This is known as The Caste Disabilities Removal Act. This Act which was at the time of its passing known as the Lex Loci Act excited considerable opposition among the orthodox Hindus as unduly favouring converts and has been criticised from the Hindu point of view, with respect to its operation on the guardianship of children, in a case where one of two parents had been converted from Hinduism to Mahomedanism.

It was enacted by Act XXI of 1850 (11th April 1850) "so much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property or may be held in any way to impair or affect any rights of inheritance by reason of his or her renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of any caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company and in the courts established by Royal charter within the said territories "

(10)

Until the East India company felt itself secure in India it did not allow the Christian missionaries to come and settle in India or preach the Gospel. In fact it was not until 1813 that it officially opened the doors of India. It would not allow the foreign missionaries who came to India, to offend the sentiments of the Hindu and Moslem people. But as the English rulers felt stronger, they did not scruple to allow the missionaries to invade India, to openly insult and abuse the faiths of non-Christian people of the land and adopt such measures as were calculated to encourage them to be converted to Christianity.

Major B. D. Basu says in his Consolidation of Christian power in India that the greatest Reformer in this line was no

less a person than Lord William Bentinck himself. While Governor of Madras his open encouragement to the Missionaries in that Presidency was responsible not a little for the sepoy mutiny at Vellore on 10.7-1806.

Reverend Sydney Smith wrote in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1807 on the "conversion of India" in which he tried to show how the civil servants of the company were giving encouragement to the missionaries to propagate their faith and proselytise the swarthy heathens. He wrote, "In 1804 the Missionary Society, a recent institution sent a new mission to the coast of Coramandal, from whose papers we think it right to lay before our readers the following extracts:

"March 31st, 1805—Waited on A. B. He says the Government seems to be very willing to forward our views. We may stay at Madras as long as we please, and when we intend to go into the country, on our application to the Governor (William Bentinck) by letter, he would issue orders for granting us passports which would supersede the necessity of a public petition—Lords Day"

Rev. Sydney Smith wrote further that the missionaries "obtain their passports from Government and the plan and objects of their mission are printed free of expense, at the Government Press....."

In another number, the missionaries write thus to the Society of London, about a fortnight before the massacre at Vellore "Every encouragement is offered us by the established Government of the Country. Hitherto they have granted us every request whether solicited by ourselves or others. Their permission to come to this place, their allowing us an acknowledgment for preaching in the fort which sanctions us in our work, together with the grant which they have lately given us to hold a large spot of ground every way suited for missionary labours, are objects of the least importance and remove every

impediment which might be apprehended from this source. We trust not an arm of flesh but when we reflect on these things we cannot but behold the loving kindness of the Lord. *

In his letter to his father on 4-9-1806 Sir Thomas Munro explained that the Vellore mutiny was due to an offensive article 10 of the regulations prohibiting having caste marks and earrings when dressed in uniform insisting that they should shave the chins clean, should cut their mustache uniformly. He says that though it is trifling it was of the same kind as that which would have excited any nation by a violent attack upon its prejudices. He asks what effect will it produce if all the British Soldiers are asked to shave their heads. (See Gleig's *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Munro*).

Major Basu writes in his *Consolidation of Christian Power in India*:

"As Governor-General of India, Bentinck tried to continue the same policy which he commenced in Madras. In 1832 he passed Regulation VII of the Bengal Code which was a great inducement to the heathens to forsake the faith of their ancestors. Under the Hindu family system the property belonged in common to the joint family. If a member lost caste from any cause he was debarred from enjoying the family property. By this regulation Bentinck made it possible for the heathen convert to Christianity not to lose his share in the family property notwithstanding his loss of caste. This principle was extended to the whole of India in 1850. Bentinck selected Macaulay to preside over the deliberations of the Anglicists and Orientalists because the latter shared his views as regards Anglicisation and evangelisation of India. Macaulay introduced the English education because as he wrote to his father in 1836: "The effect of this education on Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many

* *Rise of Christian Power in India*—Major B. D. Basu Vol, III pp, 484-5.

profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence." (See Pp. 14-33)

* (M)

"In his book *England and India—An Essay on the duty of English men towards the Hindus*" published in 1859, Baptist Wriothsesley Noel M. A., put in a powerful plea for a radical change in the policy and personnel of the British Rule in India. He attributed all its defects to the policy of religious neutrality and advocated open proselytism. "The East Indian Government as Christians" said he "should not encourage false religions, nor discourage the servants of God nor dishonour Christ by immoral acts; but rule the people with avowed subjection to his authority. Such being the duty of the East India Government, they have, alas, neglected it. The Government and all its servants have hitherto refused public support and countenance to efforts for converting the natives of India. So anamalous was the conduct of Government that whilst it proscribed the simple unaided dissemination of the Gospel it not only protected idolatry but condescended to regulate its rites, and even to profit by some of its practices." He described various aspects of the administration and mentioned a number of things to be removed or amended by the East India Company. He deplored the policy which handed over the Bengal peasantry to the oppression of the zamindars. He said that throughout the length and breadth of this country the strong prey almost universally upon the weak, and of the utter inefficiency and corruption of the police, the inability of the Judge and Magistrate to administer the vast areas under their jurisdiction. He pointed out instances of the practice of torture by police to extort confession and foisting cases on innocent people and of miscarriage of justice. He points out the opium trade as another public immorality under the company rule.

In describing the condition of the ryot he quotes the petition of the Calcutta

Missionaries. "The village chowkedars are the servants of the landlord, the Government police are corrupt, and he cannot vie with his land-lord in purchasing their favour; the courts of Justice are dilatory and expensive, and are often far distant from his abode, so that he has no hope of redress for the most cruel wrongs; and he is frequently implicated in affrays respecting disputed boundaries in which he has not the slightest personal interest. Ignorant of his rights, uneducated, subdued by oppression, accustomed to penury; and some times reduced to destitution, the cultivator of the soil in many parts of this Presidency derives little benefit from the British rule beyond protection from Mahratta invasions." "I have heard of cases of peasants about to embrace Christianity. The Zamindar on hearing of this, deprived them of their plough and what ever little things they had in the house".

Mr. Noel thought that all this would not have occurred if the Missionaries were allowed to carry on their work in India. He deplored the policy of sanction and support of "false religions" in India. He has nothing but contempt for both Hindum and Islam. We ought not to encourage or sanction Mahomedanism because it is corrupt and licentious. (P 139) Every Englishman knows that Koran was the work of Mahomed, and the Shasters, of ambitious Brahmins; that Mahomed was no prophet, and Krishna was no God; that the Hindoo idolatry is based on falsehoods and that the Pantheistic Atheism is no less irrational" (Ibid. P. 152).

Mr. Noel proceeds to trace the history of the policy of religious neutrality and its evils. On May 29, 1807 the court of Directors declared their sentiments about the question of religious neutrality in the following paragraph of a letter addressed to Fort St. George: "in the whole course of our administration of the Indian territories it has been our known and declared principle to maintain a perfect toleration of the various religious systems which prevailed in it, to protect the followers of each in the undisturbed enjoyment of their respective

opinions and usages, and neither to interfere with them ourselves nor to suffer them to be molested by others.* This traditional policy referred both to the servants of the company, and to missionaries. As to the first, Sir J. Malcolm says, "Let the Clergymen in the employ of Government, whether as ministers of religion or professors of colleges, be prohibited from using their endeavours to make converts."† And the Government has taken the same view; for when Mr Fisher, Chaplain at Meerut, baptized, in 1819, Prabhu Din, a sepoy of the 25th Native Infantry, Major Brown, then in Command of the Regiment, reported to the Commander-in-chief that he had been baptized "without his privity or consent,"‡ upon which the Governor-General answered by the Military Secretary of the Government, "the Governor-General in Council is disposed to view the matter in the most serious light." A Military committee was appointed to examine the circumstances, and Prabhu Din, though an excellent soldier, was dismissed from the regiment for becoming a Christian. §

With respect to efforts made by other Christians to convert the natives the Court of Directors said further in their letter of 1807, "When we afforded our countenance and sanction to missionaries, ... it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make.¶ About this period the attention of the Governor-General in Council was called to the public preaching of the missionaries and the issue from the Press of works in the Vernacular language of the country, which were highly offensive to the religious feelings of the Natives.‡ The Governor-General in Council, Lord Minto, reporting to the Directors, said, "when publications and public preachings, calculated not to conciliate but to irritate the minds of the people, were brought to the notice of Government, the interposition

of the ruling power became necessary to preclude the apprehended effects of these dangerous and unprofitable proceedings.† Lord Minto afterwards added, "It could not be supposed that any former administration would have deemed it consistent with the public safety, or with the obligations of the public faith as pledged to the native subjects of the company, for the unmolested increase of their religions, to permit the circulation of such inflammatory works as those which had been brought to notice.‡ Previous administrations had, indeed, been more severe when, "in the close of 1799, four missionaries arrived from England, the harsh and jealous policy of the company forbade their settling in the British Dominions."†

The missionaries desired nothing, beyond simple permission to preach the Gospel." But this was denied them; and when they fled to Serampore, "for many years they continued to be watched narrowly, to be viewed with suspicion and even sometimes threatened with an expulsion from the country; So anomalous was the conduct of Government that whilst it proscribed the simple unaided dissemination of the Gospel, it not only protected idolatry, but condescended to regulate its rites, and even to profit by some of its practices || December 5, 1799 Mr. Brunson wrote home, "We find every attempt to go up the country would only irritate Government, and more we have it from good authority that the Governor-General in Council said that he would send either of us on board ship that should be found in the company's territory. || Mr. Carey and his companions had no sooner settled themselves at Serampore, than they had to encounter the opposition of the ruling powers." || September 2, 1806, the missionaries wrote, "Our brethren Chater and Robinson who arrived here last week, went, as is customary, to the Police office

* Political History of India Vol. ii — Sir John Malcolm PP 267, 273, 268

§ Wilkinson's Sketches of Christianity in India PP 252, 253, 262.

† Malcolm ii Pp. 273, 274, 277, 298.

‡ Life of Eustace Carey P 349.

|| Ibid 352, 353, 367, 482.

to report their arrival; on which occasion some demur arose about permitting them to proceed to Serampore. Brother Carey therefore went to Town on Tuesday last, and waited on two of the Justices of the Peace, Mr. Blacquiere and Mr. Thornton, about the matter. As he was leaving the office, Mr. Blacquiere called him back and said that he had been directed by the Governor-General (Sir George Barlow) to express to him his desire that he would not interfere with the prejudices of the Natives by preaching to them, instructing them, or distributing books and pamphlets among them, that he would desire his colleagues to observe the same line of conduct and that we would not permit the converted Natives to go into the country to spread Christianity among the people."* "Souls are perishing on every side and we are forbidden to administer the remedy which God has put into our hands."*

November 18, 1806 Dr. Carey wrote, "No communication concerning the mission has been made from Government; yet several circumstances combine to make me conclude that the removal of it or even the suppression of it, would not be matter of regret to the Governor-General." §

The 17th of June 1812, Messrs. Judson and Newell, American missionaries, with their wives, arrived at Calcutta. At this period the East India Company were, both theoretically and practically, opposed to every effort for the evangelisation of India. Whatever may have been their reasons, they had determined, by all the means in their power, to resist the introduction of Christianity among the Native subjects of the British Crown in Bengal. About ten days after their arrival they were summoned to Calcutta and an order was read to them,

requiring them immediately to leave the country and return to America. They petitioned for leave to reside in some other part of India, but were prohibited from settling in any part of the company's territories." †

These facts prove that the traditionary policy of the company, "not themselves to interfere with the opinions of the natives, nor to suffer them to be molested by others," was meant to apply both to chaplains and missionaries: the former were to be forbidden to obey our Lord's order to "preach the Gospel to every creature," and the latter were to be discouraged in their efforts to obey it. *Since that day the practice is modified*, but the spirit which dictated it is not wholly extinct.

Captain Eastwick, one of the Directors, in a speech at the East India House, which does him much credit, says, "I sympathise with my whole heart with the missionary movement. It is my solemn belief that God has given us that great country to promote the spread of his Gospel; and that as we fulfil or fall short of this end, so will our reward or punishment as a nation be." || This marks a great change in the tone of the Directors since that time, when one of them, upon the proposal of Mr. Haldane to establish a mission at Benares, was reported to say, "I would rather see a band of devils in India than a band of Christian missionaries." † Captain Eastwick was, more over able to add, "The Chairman, and Deputy Chairman, my friend on my left (Mr. Willoughby) and other members of the court, have been earnest and constant supporters of missionary labours while in India. Still the British Government of India has to this day supported idolatry and opposed the progress of the Gospel. ¶

* Letter of the missionaries-Ibid 484, 486.

§ Letter of Dr. Carey, Ibid P 489.

† Wayland's life of Judson i 87.

|| Speech of Captain Eastwick P. 15, 17 London 1858.

† Life of Robert Haldane - A. Haldane P. 118

¶ He is not right. It was the influence of such men that was responsible for the Charter of 1813 opening the gates of India to the missionaries for the policy of Christianization and for establishing an ecclesiastical department in India. -Ed.

Mr. Eastwick was not alone in his views nor was he the first to advocate them. "There were at the time (1813) some well-intentioned but ill-informed enthusiasts in Parliament and elsewhere, who considered that it was incumbent upon England to force her own religion on her subjects in India. As a preliminary to their plan of campaign, the representatives of this scheme introduced a resolution for acceptance of House of Commons which set forth "It is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all justifiable and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may generally tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement." This resolution seemed at first sight to commit the House of Commons to nothing more than an endorsement of a truism. But it assumed a different aspect when it was announced in the newspapers, with the alleged sanction of certain ministers of the Prince Regent, that the real, however latent, object of the resolution was to obtain the authority of Parliament for an attempt by the Government to convert the natives of India from the religions of their fathers, which were characterized as the proto-types of faithlessness, perjury and hypocrisy, and also to imply that the supreme and local Governments of India had neglected their duty in not having declared that it was the sacred obligation of the English Government to convert those people to Christianity." □

A despatch of the Court of Directors, of February 20, 1833, much to their honor, states: "It is not necessary that we should take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparations for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident."* "We cannot conceive that a Government which believes those rites to be deeply founded in error

... is at liberty to show to them any degree of positive sanction or encouragement."

We conclude "that in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances our native subjects be left entirely to themselves."

"We more particularly desire that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the Natives." *

Mr. Noel proceeds: "Nothing can be more just than this language. But the Bombay Guardian of November 21, 1857, states that notwithstanding these plain injunctions, the support rendered by the Government to idols is extended over great part of India:— "In the Madras Presidency there are now 8292 idols and temples receiving from Government an annual payment of £ 97,678. In the Bombay Presidency* there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage receiving grants to the amount of £ 30587; to which must be added the allowance for temple lands, giving a total for the Bombay Presidency of £ 69,859. For the whole of the company's territories there is annually expended, in support of idolatry, by the servants of the company, the large sum of £ 171,558."§ This money is not paid in one sum to one person, so that it might be little known, but it is paid in small sums to more than thirty four thousand temples, expressly for the service of idols; so that if the services were neglected the payments would be withheld: By these payments they must lead the Hindoos to think that the members of the Government support the worship of Krishna as willingly as the worship of Christ, and that they believe both religions to be true, or both to be false.

A Bengal Regulation of 1810, explains this practice thus—"whereas considerable endowments have been granted ... for the

□ Memories of Madras—Sir C. Lawson P. 185.

§ Letter from a Layman in India P. 18. London 1858.

* Speech Pp 17, 20.—22.

support of Mosques, Hindoo Temples, colleges, and for other pious and beneficial purposes ... it shall be the duty of the Board of Revenue and the Board of Commissioners to take care that all endowments made for the maintenance of establishments of the above description be duly appropriated to the purpose for which they were destined by the Government or individual by whom such endowments were granted." The practice with respect to the thirty four thousand temples is more in conformity with the regulation of 1810 than with the despatch of 1833, and must convince the millions who worship in them that the government still considers the support of idolatry "a pious and beneficial purpose."

I have next to notice with regret a prohibition issued by the Court of Directors forbidding their servants both civil and military to promote the cause of Christ.

A despatch from the Directors to the Governor-General of 21st April 1847, runs thus:—"You are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives. It is essential to the due observance of that principle that it should be acted on by all our servants civil and military. The Government is known throughout India by its officers with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants; and our servants should therefore be aware that, while invested with public authority; their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. The despatch further directed the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support of missionary efforts.

The orders, indeed, of the despatch were not executed by Lord Hardinge, but it remains still in force; and "it is rumoured that it is to be revived and put into operation.

Such has been the influence of this policy, that a writer of the present day, who apparently knows India well, says:

"From the highest official to the

lowest, everybody appears to be ashamed of his religion; and to carry out the express direction of Government, that all creeds are to be treated with like respect."

"There cannot be a doubt that, up to the present time, the policy of the company's Government has been to discourage proselytism."

While Mahomedans gloried in their sensual and sanguinary prophet, the rulers of India were ashamed of their Divine Redeemer. So little have they been accustomed to honor him, that when Lord Canning was thought to have subscribed to a missionary society, Lord Ellenborough who had been himself a Governor-General, declared that if this were true, it would be a circumstance more dangerous to the security of our Government. Chaplains, indeed, have been supported by the Government in India, but these were paid in pursuance of an Act of Parliament which they were obliged to obey; and as if to neutralise the influence of that enforced compliment to Christianity, they have also supported idol temples by annual payment; they have paid the priests for performing idolatrous rites; they have compelled the working people to drag the cars at idolatrous festivals; and they have given guards of honor to senseless idols, which were paraded in contempt of the being and authority of God. On the other hand, they have turned natives out of their service for becoming Christians, and have refused to allow the Bible to be read in their schools.

"Lord Ellenborough's silly and bigoted attack on Lord Canning for having caused the revolt by subscribing to missionary societies, is ridiculed here by all parties." "Lord Canning has kept as much aloof from anything of the kind as any of his late predecessors, and is even now so terribly afraid of the appearance of feeling any regard even for native Christians, as to request that addresses from such expressive of sympathy and offering aid, may not be presented to him officially, though those of Hindoos and Mussalmans have been received most freely and most gratefully."

"The spirit of the Government here has been indicated in too many ways to be mistaken. One of the last boats launched from the Government dockyard was, by express order, called the "Deva," a name of the horrible Hindoo Goddess Kali."

Mr. Noel deplored the policy of encouraging the Hindu and Moslem religions of India. He wrote, (*Ibid* Pp 158—164) "Not content with giving full toleration to these false religions, we have yielded them an unprincipled support; We have not merely allowed them to insult their Maker by idolatry, but we have aided them in doing it. Of this the reader may judge by the following extracts from a pamphlet addressed to Lord Glenelg, when Mr. Charles Grant in 1833:

"The Pagodas generally, and perhaps all of any note are now under the immediate care of Government. § The collector of each district is the agent employed to conduct the business. He appoints and dismisses the servants of the idol, both those who perform the worship and those who superintend the estates; he directs the repair of the buildings, the cars, and the dresses of the idols. It is he who gives orders for the gold and silver ornaments to be made, for the preparation of rice and other articles for the idol's table and the quantity of them to be cooked. It is he who has to sanction the admission of the dancing women, as servants or wives to the idol, and who has to dismiss them on proof of neglect. Without his concurrence nothing is done; and no outlay whatever is made without a positive order under his official seal or signature, by every month disbursing money as wages and expenses of the establishment. The lands of the pagoda are leased out by him, and the rents and proceeds collected at the same time and by the same individual as the Government revenues. Every

collector of land revenue issues daily orders relative to their affairs, in which the appellations 'God', 'Lord God' are given to different idols, and the attendants are enjoined to be very careful 'in God's business'. A countenance and support, the most unhallowed, are given to the abominations of Hindoo worship by our own actual management, direction and control of their fraudulent and impure system, by donations from our treasury, and by countenance and official aid of our public officers who frequently make offerings and donations in their own name, and in that of the Company.

"In seasons of draught, money is granted from the public purse for the performance of idolatrous ceremonies to procure rain.

"At the great feast of Conjeevaram, while the idol is in procession, and tens of thousands of people from the surrounding country are looking on, the collector of Chinglepet, with a salutation of reverence, makes an offering to the idol of an embroidered shawl, in the name of the Company.† The Collector of Trichinopoly in like manner, presented a shawl at the Seringham feast, first making a 'salam' to the image; parties of ladies and gentlemen being invited by him to be present on the occasion. Offerings were made in a similar way to an idol at Madras by a Company's covenanted servant deputed from the collector's office."

"In the district of Tanjore alone, there are no less than four hundred thousand people compelled year by year to leave their homes and proceed ten, twenty, or thirty miles, without any permission or remuneration, for the purpose of dragging the obscene and disgusting idol cars of the province." Unless Government were to enforce their attendance, not a man of

* England and India—Baptist Wriothsley Noel Pp. 11 to 23: (See the chapter entitled the East Indian Government.)

§ The Bengal Regulation of 1810 and the Madras Regulation, of 1817 put the management of the temples on a legal basis.

† Letter to the Rt. Hon Charles Grant, by a Madras Civilian. London, 1833 Pp 6, 24, 8, 9, 10.

them would come, nor would they, when arrived, pull the cars, were it not for the dread of Government and of the whip applied by Government to compel their exertions.

An eye-witness relates:—"About ten o' clock last evening, the first car made its appearance' drawn by many hundreds of poor men. Two very large ropes were attached to the vehicle by which people dragged it along, and on each side of the rope peons and others were stationed with whips and sticks to flog the people if they were negligent in their duty; and here I am sorry to observe that these instruments were often called into exercise in the most wanton, unfeeling and barbarous manner. Christians even were compelled to draw the cars." At Travandrum, in the Travancore country there is a very large feast at which it is the practice for the principal idol of the pagoda to be conducted in procession escorted by the British troops of the station as a guard of honor. The troops form in two ranks on either side of the idol and its attendants among whom are the Rajah and Ranees, and march with them from the fort to the sea-side, a distance of about three miles. The European officers, of course, accompany their men being thus employed to do honor to idolatry." (Ibid Pp. 10 11, 69, 70, 18).

Sir Peregrine Maitland, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, having been called to order similar honors to idols at Madras, resigned rather than do it; and his resignation was accepted. Government would lose an excellent commander rather than fail in yielding the accustomed honor to an idol; and when Bishop Corrie expressed his sympathy with Sir Peregrine, he was rebuked for it by Government. (Bishop of Calcutta's Sermon P. 13).

By these practices the East India Government made the natives believe that their religion was approved of by it. "What other acts" say the Madras Civilian, 'would be necessary to establish a conviction of the concurrence of Government in the general belief of the natives? We

build them pagodas and mosques, we establish and superintend their worship, we make and adorn their idols, at the processions we send offerings and guards to do them honor, and we annually compel multitudes to draw them in state. The heathens themselves certainly think that the honorable Company favors and upholds their idolatry. I have often heard this language from their own mouths, when I represented to them its folly and wickedness. "If" said they "idolatry be really as bad as you say, why then does the Company give us money towards worshipping idols?" They cannot understand that a Government who have all power in their hands can do so without being well inclined towards idolatry. There is even the idea among the people, particularly among those who belong to the publicly supported temples, that they must worship the idols because the Government in a manner to do so, by giving money for it, and that it would be an act against Government were they to omit it."

(Madras Civilian pp. 23, 24).

The same year in which the Madras Civilian is published, the Court of Directors issued a despatch, of which the following are extracts:—

Par. 10. Beyond civil protection, we do not see that the measures of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not necessary that we should take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparations for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident."

"Para 11. We cannot conceive that a Government which believes those rites to be deeply founded in error and to be productive, even in a civil view, of serious evil, is at liberty to show them any degree of positive sanction or encouragement."

Para 62. They (our conclusions) are the following:—That the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the

customs, habits, and the religious proceedings of the priests and attendants, in the arrangements of their ceremonies, rites and festivals, shall cease. That on all matters relating to their temples their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves.

By another despatch dated August 8, 1838, they added :—

"We more particularly desire that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the natives.

(Captain Eastwick P. 19.)

These directions have never been fully carried into effect. For only last year Bishop Wilson complained of the connexion of the Government with idolatry as a sin still existing.

"It has long appeared," he said "to thoughtful persons, that one of the chief sins of India is the close connexion with the vices and idolatry of Brahmanism, and the detestable licentiousness and bitter hatred to Christianity of the followers of the false prophet. In this opinion I concur In our Regulations both at Madras and in Bengal Hindoo and Mohammedan endowments were and I fear are declared to be endowments for pious and beneficial purposes; and were placed in the special charge of the collectors of the districts, instead of being left to the native priests to manage, or rather mismanage as they could which would have gradually extinguished them..... These acts and regulations went to the discountenancing of Christianity and the support of the grossest idolatries."

(Sermon Pp. 12—14)

A writer evidently well acquainted with western India adds the following statements— "Large annual allowances are paid from the state treasuries, in every

Collectorate of western India, for the performance of idol and Mohomedan worship. The Indian Government, not content with prohibiting its servants from attempting to convert the natives actually makes them the disbursers of payment for the performance of idol worship Before the Collector can disburse these sums, the officiating Brahmin and Synd must obtain a certificate that the ceremonies have been properly performed. On the perusal of this certificate, the Collector pays the annual allowance for the performance of what he must regard as the greatest sin a man can commit. Upwards of £ 30,000 are annually paid away in these collectorates. In addition, many entire villages of large magnitude are permanently alienated for the same purpose. The rental of these, in each collectorate, averages about £ 1500 a year. This increases the disbursements to the sum of nearly £ 50,000 a year (A few Remarks etc. Pp 8-9).

"A Lay man in India" makes a similar statement in the following terms:

The connexion of the Government of India with idolatry is far from being at an end. The following facts are given on the authority of the Bombay Guardian of November 21, 1857. In the Madras Presidency, there are now 8292 idols and temples, receiving from Government an annual payment of £ 87678. In the Bombay Presidency, there are 26589 idols and temples receiving under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of £ 30587—10 sh.; to which must be added the allowance for temple lands—giving a total for the Bombay Presidency of £ 89859—6 sh. In the whole of the Company's Territories there is annually expended in the support of idolatry, by the servants of the Company, the large sum of £ 171558—12 sh.*

Mr. Noel wanted that the Government should dissociate themselves from this policy and adopt at once the policy of open Christianization of India.

* England and India.—An essay on the duty of Englishman towards the Hindus. Baptist Wriethesley Noel (1855) pp158—164.

The complaint of Mr. Noel that the East Indian Government was too cautious in their policy or too kind and partial to the heathen Hindus and Mussalmans is not well founded. On the other hand the records show that in spite of the despatches of the Court of Directors about the so called religious neutrality and strict impartiality the authorities in India were freely supporting the missionaries in their efforts to proselytize. They openly carried their Christian feelings even into their official duties and administration of justice. Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. Campbell wrote in 1852:—

"An odd case occurred a few years ago at Benares of a half-caste who was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for adultery but was pardoned by the Government on the ground of his being a Christian, a fact which certainly does not seem a mitigation of the offence." (Modern India, P. 366.)

Mr. Noel makes no secret of the real object of the Missionaries in establishing schools. He says "Of these English schools Mr. Ewart of the Free Church of Scotland gave the following account to the Missionary Conference of 1854:—

"The missionary does not establish schools for the bare purpose of civilising or instructing, but he establishes them as instruments for evangelising, and just as the apostles gained a patient hearing by exercising the power of working miracles, and followed it up by preaching, so the missionary engaged in an educational institution gains for himself a patient hearing by imparting useful and eagerly-desired knowledge—call it secular if you will—and follows it up by preaching the Gospel to the impressible minds that surround him ... The general education, coupled with the religious instruction, even when it fails to bring the youths to Christ has a certain and powerful destructive tendency as regards all confidence in the Hindu Shasters, and all regard to the distinctions of caste ... But we would say more Christian education elevates the moral tone even of unbelievers, and just as

the irreligious man in a Christian land may have a high standard of honor, which the decencies of a community, living under the influences of the pure and exalted morality of the Gospel, force upon him, so the youth who is disciplined and taught in accordance with the moral principles of the Bible, and is dealt with and treated in accordance with these principles, learns insensibly to respect these principles, and those who profess them and act upon them. And this influence extends in native society. We know many whose consciences are thus Christianised, and who, although not professing Christianity do homage to the supremacy of the Gospel in their hearts and lives." (Noel Pp. 340—341.)

Mr. Noel wrote: "Although the Government of Ceylon had, without difficulty or danger, introduced the Bible into their national schools, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, while Governor of Madras, had wished to do the same (1846-7), the Court of Directors refused their sanction by the following despatch:—

"Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object, it was and is indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be, and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or to discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from their master upon the subject of the Christian religion, provided, that such information be given out of school hours.*" Mr. Noel regretted this policy. 'But,' said he, 'we have reason to hope that the Queen's Government will be less timid, and if, following the Ceylon precedent, they allow the Bible to be used in the national schools by all the children whose parents do not object, there may be soon a large demand for it.' §

* Christian Education App. P. 31.

§ England and India—Noel Pp. 392-393.

While Mr. Noel declared that the great object of the British rule should be the Christianization of India, he also emphasised the fact that they should rule India like Christians. He deplored the selfish misrule of the East India Company. "Still both in England and Calcutta," says he "we have been in some measure selfish. Have we not generally regarded British interests more than the interests of the people? Have we, not as a nation, cared very little for their improvement? Public works have been very tardily begun, changes in the cultivation, which would have been beneficial to the people have been forbidden as likely to interfere with the revenue; the monopoly of opium has demoralized many, education was long neglected; Christian missions have been much opposed; and even now perhaps the East Indian government, while doing good and tending to improvement has dim conceptions of the ultimate object which it ought to pursue..... We ought to save the weak from the oppression of the strong; and we ought to raise the working classes from the debasement to which centuries of misrule, a polluting superstition and the cruel factions of caste have reduced them. We ought to improve to the utmost their agriculture, their operations in mining their manufactures and commerce. We ought further to train them for national self government, by a universal popular education by admitting them to all civil employments for which they may be prepared, by the pure and public administration of laws, by such local self government as they can bear, and by as much freedom of the press as circumstances will admit; above all by sending out many missionaries, by training native preachers, by multiplying christian schools, and

by circulating christian books, we have to convert them to christ.*

He enumerated certain things British rulers should especially do at once in India:-

(1) We ought to lighten the taxation not by underpaying the servants of the government, but by distributing the taxes more equally among various classes, by preventing native extortion in collecting them, and by cutting off all useless expenditure.

(2) We ought to give them all the advantages of good government, for which they pay nearly thirty millions a year.

(3) We should admit natives of good character to all the offices which they are able to fill. For how can they love our rule if it shuts them out from all honours and emoluments in their country?

(4) We should offer no insult to their false religions by ridicule, however faithfully we may preach the Gospel which condemns them.

(5) We should scrupulously avoid all disdain, harshness of manner, contemptuous epithets, and rude conduct towards them, remembering the Apostolic Command, "Honor all men"

(6) And finally we should train them for liberty and independence, by all the means which benevolent rulers can devise. §

The Christian Missionaries took lot of interest in the affairs of the converts and interfered in the administration of justice and even in the government of the country. Christian missionaries of every denomination of the Church Missionary

* (England and India—B. W. Noel Pp 39-40)

§ Ibid Pp. 41-42.

Society, of the London Missionary Society, of the Established Church of Scotland, of the Free Church of Scotland, and of the Baptist Mission gave a powerful testimony to Lord Dalhousie's neglect of the social sufferings of Bengal under his rule in 1852, 1853 and 1856. Prior to the enquiry into the affairs of India they presented a petition to the houses of Parliament. A separate petition was presented to the Parliament in 1853 signed by 1800 Christian inhabitants of Bengal.

Mr. Noel says about these petitions :-- "Although members of Parliament, directors and proprietors of India stock, and journalists, have blamed the missionaries because they have humanly endeavoured to protect their poor neighbours and converts from these oppressions, by petitions to the East India Government and the Honorable Company, they deserve the thanks of all those in this country who wish to recommend Christianity to the heathen, or to protect their fellow Christians in Bengal from civil injustice, or to render the British Government popular in that country, or even to save the country from rebellion or revolution".*

Major Basu writes in his 'Consolidation of Christian Power in India', that after the Punjab was annexed the rulers wanted to make it a model christian province. The men who administered the Punjab Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence, Sir Robert Montgomery, Mr. Donald Macleod, and Colonel H. B. Edwardes were zealous christians. Some of these officers were of opinion that the teaching in the missionary schools was superior to that in the government schools in that province. Mr. Macleod's Minute on Education, 1853 was approved by Lord Dalhousie the Governor General. The latter added in his minute in 1854 "I am of opinion that for these days we carry the principle of neutrality too far."

The Court of Directors also approved of what Macleod and Dalhousie had written.

Sir Herbert Edwardes who had adopted peculiarly christian methods in the Multan campaign, recommended certain measures to be adopted by the Indian Government. He prepared a memorandum on the elimination of all "unchristian" principles from the government of British India. According to him, the 'unchristian' elements in the christian government of India were as follows :--

- (1) The exclusion of the Bible and christian teachings from the government schools and colleges.
- (2) The endowment of idolatry and Muhammadanism by Government.
- (3) The recognition of caste.
- (4) The observance of native holidays in the various departments of state.
- (5) The administration by the British of Hindu and Muhammadan laws both civil and criminal.
- (6) The publicity of heathen and Muhammadan processions.
- (7) The public frequenting of streets by native prostitutes.
- (8) The restrictions on the marriage of European soldiers and the insufficient accommodation for married families in barracks.
- (9) The connexion of the British government with the opium trade.
- (10) The Indian Excise Laws.

The last four elements are certainly objectionable but the first six items are matters in which there ought not to be any government interference. Colonel Edwardes forwarded a copy of his memorandum to a high authority in England who it is presumed was no other than the Christian Earl of Shaftesbury. Sir John Lawrence chief commissioner of Punjab asked his private secretary (Sir) Richard Temple to forward the memorandum to

the Government of India with his observations on it.

At the time almost all the high officers in the Punjab shared the views of Colonel Edwardes and Sir John was no exception. He also advocated the teaching of the Bible in Government Schools and Colleges. as some of his contemporaries in Madras. But Mr. W. D. Arnold, the then Director, of Public instruction of the Punjab under the influence of his Head Assistant, Babu Shyama Charan Basu opposed his view. (Babu Shyama charan was a pupil of Dr. Alexander Duff and knew too well the policy underlying the introduction of the Bible.)

Regarding the opposition of Mr. Arnold Mr., afterwards Sir Richard Temple wrote from Lahore on 3rd July 1858:

"Mr. Arnold argues that to have even voluntary Bible classes in Government Schools infringes the principles of religious neutrality; that hereby an undue advantage is given to Christianity, in as much as the teaching of the native religions is excluded from the said schools: That although the attendance at the classes may be meant to be voluntary, it will really be regarded otherwise; that it is impossible to distinguish the measure from "proselytism and even from quiet persecution that as trustees for the people of India, we have no right to adapt our educational machinery paid for by the taxes from the country, for the virtual propagation of Christianity; that by introducing Christian teaching we launch into a sea of theological difficulty; and lastly, that by this measure we may possibly give rise to great political danger. The above arguments and many others are urged by Mr. Arnold with much ability..... But I am to state that these arguments are not at all concurred in by the chief Commissioner. Mr. Macleod has most justly observed that many of Mr. Arnold's arguments are based on the assumption that the British Government stands in the same relation towards the people of India as a representative Government stands towards its people. But in the chief commissioner's opinion the two cases differ

widely from each other placed as we are in India, we are differently situated from the constitutional government of England or America..... If by being 'trustees for the people' we are supposed to be bound invariably by the will of the people, then we are not..... trustees in that sense. We have not been elected or placed in power by the people but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India"

Thanks to the efforts of Syama Charan Babu the teaching of the Bible was however not introduced in the schools and colleges in this country.

Although the Government of India did not openly countenance the conversion of the natives of India to christianity, the christian authorities encouraged the missionaries in the propaganda of their religion and did all that lay in their power to make India a christian country.

There can be little doubt that the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was caused in part by the zeal which the christian officers of Indian regiments showed in proselytizing the heathen and Mussalman sepoys. In a pamphlet written by a "Hindu of Bengal" dated Calcutta, the 18th August 1857, entitled "Causes of the Indian Revolt" published from London by Edward Stanford, 6 Charing Cross, and edited by Mr. Malcolm Lewin, who served in India as second Judge of the Sadar Court of Madras, and Provincial Member of the Madras Government it was stated:—

"At the beginning of the present year (1837) a great many colonels in the Indian army were detected in a task not less monstrous and arduous than that of christianizing it. It has afterwards transpired that some of these earnest but rather crack brained worthies who have devoted their lives to the propagation of the Gospel among heathen nations, not quite satisfied with the hope that English education will eventually make their fellow subjects in the East to forsake their idols and evidently impatient of the slow progress which christianity has hitherto made among the

nations, entered the army, not as a means of subsistence, not as the theatre of exertion most congenial to their temperaments, but solely and wholly for the purpose of conversion. The army was specially selected, as in times of peace it affords the utmost leisure to both soldiers and commanders, and as there heathens may be found in great abundance on all sides, without trouble and expense, and other etceteras or scampering from village to village. Accordingly, these men launched themselves into their strange career with a zeal worthy of a better cause, and a determinedness but too little tempered by sober wisdom and even common prudence. They began preaching and distributing tracts and translations among the Hindu and Mahomedan officers and soldiers. In the beginning they were tolerated, sometimes with disgust and sometimes with indifference. When however, the thing *continued*, when the evangelising endeavours became more serious and troublesome day by day, the sepoys of either persuasion felt alarmed. They thought that to allow such a thing with impunity was to leave unfulfilled a duty they owed to themselves, their ancestors and their faith. They held nightly meetings but came to no resolution. In the meantime, the 'missionary colonels' and '*padre* lieutenants' as these curious *militaries* were called, were not inactive. Emboldened by the toleration of the sepoys, they grew more violent than ever. They were louder in their denunciations of Hinduism and Islamism. They were warmer in their exhortations to the unbelievers, to substitute the worship of the one true God in his Son Jesus, for the thirty three millions of their hideous deities, Mahomet, and Rama, hitherto mere so-so beings, turned sublime imposters and unmitigated blackguards ... By and by the proselytizing colonels tempted the sepoys to Christianity with bribes and offered promotions and other rewards to converts. They unblushingly used their influence as officers in this unholy affair. The sepoys protested, and their European officers promised to make every sepoy that forsook his religion a Havildar and every Havildar a Subedar. Major and so on! Great discontent was the consequence. Of course, the sepoys

could hardly connect these day and night preachings, these ceaseless efforts, this enormous expenditure of money in books and tracts, with private enterprise, and were half inclined to suspect that Government was at the bottom of all. When the sepoy grievance was made known to the public, the news papers as a body were not for the removal of the missionary colonels. They mostly laughed away the matter".

In the vast literature which the Indian mutiny produced in the shape of books, pamphlets and articles in quarterly and monthly magazines, as well as in weekly and daily newspapers, no attempt was ever made by any christian writer, to contradict the assertions or allegations set forth above. So it is natural that what the Hindu of Bengal wrote was true.

The pamphlet proceeded to say :

"The Governor-General told the people in a proclamation issued in the beginning of the outbreak that The Government never did and never will interfere with the religion of the natives. "With regard to the first assertion, all India have silently replied to his Lordship that it is a lie! — and they are right. With regard to second they say, "What guarantee is there that Government will not interfere with their religious practices, since it has never scrupled to break its faith and falsify its promises and professions" It is not necessary to quote any more from this heathen' writer. But to turn to his British Editor, Mr. Malcolm Lewin who says in his preface :

"We are ignorant of each other, as members of society. The bond of union has been that of Spartan and Helot. Grasping every thing that could render life desirable, we have denied to the people of the country all that could elevate them as men; we have insulted their caste; we have abrogated their laws of inheritance, we have changed their marriage institutions, we have ignored the most sacred rites of their religion; we have delivered up their pagoda property to confiscation; We have branded them in our official records as

heathens; We have seized the possessions of their native princes and confiscated the estates of their nobles; We have unsettled the country by our exactions, and collected the revenue by means of torture; We have sought to uproot the most ancient aristocracy of the world, and to degrade it to the condition of Pariahs.

What would Lord Shaftesbury, proud as he is of his birth, and zealous in the cause of Christian Proselytism say to such an innovation on his own order?

Agreeing as I do in the main with the writer, I see with dismay the repeated exhortations of the press to vengeance, to war against caste, and to christian proselytism. They only, who have not had experience of the Hindus and who have not seen their temples, which had existence many centuries before England was ever heard of, except as a land of savages, can doubt the stability of their ancient creed; they only can be brought to a belief that the utmost power that England can putforth will be able to uproot it.

Nay, if a tree be known by its fruits, if the morals of England and of India are to be held as the tests of their respective creeds, India would not lose by comparison."*

The Madras Native Association, the British Indian Association of Calcutta and the Bombay Indian Association under the leadership of Gazula Lakshminarasu Chetty Garu of Madras, Babu Ramgopal Ghose of Calcutta and Naoroji Furdunji and Bhau Daji of Bombay carried on a continuous agitation against the proselytizing policy and the misrule of the East India company. They convened meetings, passed resolutions and sent petitions to the Parliament. When all non-violent efforts failed to have any effect on the English rulers the popular agitation took a violent form in the great Indian Mutiny. The East India Company was abolished in 1858 and the Government was taken over by the Crown.

In the Proclamation of Queen Victoria issued on 1 November 1858 she declared:—

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, nor molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observance, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge".

Even after this solemn declaration the British rulers continued the old policy some times in a subtle manner and some times openly. This has been directly responsible for what the Indian National Congress has termed the four fold ruin of India, political, economic, cultural and spiritual.

Some British leaders have made no secret of their real views about the Indian question. In replying to the deputation of the Indian Christian community Sir William Morris, the Governor of the United Provinces, of Agra and Oudh said: "As you know, the Government in this country stands pledged to do justice to all religious interests impartially and to favour none. None the less, there must be a natural bond of sympathy between the *Christian power* from which the Government in India had actually derived its origin, and those people of this ancient land who have embraced and now share, in the Christian religion and its observances."§

Lord Brentford spoke out the truth when very recently he said "we did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians,

* Consolidation of Christian Power in India—Major B. D. Basu Pp. 19-33.
§ (The Englishman April 5, 1923. p. 10.)

I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

It was from political expediency that zealous christians wanted to see a portion only and not the whole heathen population of India embrace their creed. Mr. William Edwardes who served in India during the days of the Indian mutiny and rose afterwards to be a Judge of the Agra High Court wrote,

"We are, and ever must be, regarded as foreign invaders and conquerors, and the more the people become enlightened and civilised the more earnest will, in all probability, be their efforts to get rid of us. Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country; for although christianity does not denationalize, its spread would be gradual, and christian settlements scattered about the country would be as towers of strength for many years to come, for they must be loyal as long as the mass of the people remain either idolators or Mohammedans"*

The 'divide and rule' policy did not however succeed completely; for whatever might have been the expectations of the rulers, on account of the growing racial estrangement and the superiority complex of the English-men and Anglo Indians, the seven million Indian christians who were taught to look to England for their political, economic and social status and had always sided the British rulers as against the people soon found themselves politically powerless being a minority community isolated from their own Countrymen as well as from the ruling race. They had the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians to reckon

with in all their aspirations. By their habits and false notions of culture they became an anachronism in Indian society and politics. Great leaders like Kali charan Banerji and K. T. Paul and others opened the eyes of their compatriots as to the necessity of making common cause with other communities in India and a new orientation was given to their attitude to Indian nationalism. Dr. H. C. Mukerji of Calcutta University is just now trying to give a national turn to the political awakening of the Indian Christians.

Jack C. Winslow and Verrier Elwin are quite right when they say in their book the 'Dawn of Indian Freedom' that the Indian Christians can play a great and noble part in the shaping of New India. They say: "The first essential condition for the churches' effective service to the New India is the disappearance of racial superiority on the part of the foreigner and the overcoming of all barriers.

A second necessary condition of the Indian Church playing its full part in the new India is that it should have the same freedom as we hope will now be accorded to the Indian nation.

A third necessary condition for effective work by the Christian Church in the new India is that it should throw itself more fully into the national life. A fourth condition of useful service is that the Indian Church should conserve and value all that is best in the Social, Cultural and Spiritual heritage of the country." They point out that there is sufficient measure of truth in this charge of denationalization at least as directed against the educated Christians of the past generation. They ask what a wealth of material is to be found for instance in the Bhakti literature for expounding the principles of Christian devotion. They proceed "We turn to the Hindu Scriptures not only to find language by which to interpret Christian teaching to India but to which our own conception of the Christian teachings themselves."

* Rise of Christian Power in India—Basu.

"For lastly" they say "the Indian Church can only hope to render its own characteristic service to India if it is wholly and unflinchingly true to the teaching and spirit of Christ himself."

They say that the Indian Church should try to be free from racial pride and colour prejudice by exhibiting the ranks of true brotherhood; should set itself to understand and practice in far fuller measure the life of prayer. India will have a right to look to the Christian community to give valuable help in the maintenance of a high moral standard in India's public life to help in the work of reconciliation and peace making between different races and religions of the country."

*(13)

Apart from the question whether the policy of christianization of India had succeeded or not, the fact remains that it had its own effects on India and its culture. The contact with the western civilization, the christian ideas of life, the English education had brought about a cultural revolution in India.

"Politically overthrown by the British, India had been fast coming under the sway of an exotic civilization. Complete breakdown of her political power shook her faith in the potency of her age-old culture. Her brow was branded indelibly with an ingnomious mark of inferiority, and she stood stupefied before the apparently superior civilization of the mighty victors. A surging freshet of European ideas and ideals that rushed in the train of British supremacy was all that was necessary to sweep her off her old cultural moorings.

The process of disruption of her inner life was accelerated by the trend of education under the new regime, which tended to turn out men who were to be Indian in blood but English in tastes and intellectual outlook. In this strange academic milieu, young minds began to swallow queer cultural shibboleths such as, that India had no culture worth the name, that her entire past was a foolish quest after false ideals, and if she wanted seriously to live she would have to remould herself thoroughly in the lathe of European civilization.

A tidal wave of atheism swept over the land through the medium of the English language. The literature of the period was charged with the explosive thoughts of rank athiests and materialistic findings of the nineteenth century scientists. These nihilistic thoughts stormed the citadel of Hindu faith. Hundreds of intellectuals readily surrendered and openly avowed the vassalage of the materialistic realism. They commenced to glory and revel in atheistic thoughts and ways of life. The shock was too severe for the Hindu society to bear. Eventually it tottered and began to crumble.

While the Indians were being overpowered in this way by a strong spell of cultural hypnotism, certain sinister forces allied to the new system of education began to work vigorously to lead them astray from their indigenous ideals.

Those who survived this shock had yet another disruptive influence to reckon with. The introduction of English education in India became closely associated with christian evangelism. Christian missionaries often discharged the dual function of teaching English and preaching the Gospels. As educationists their brilliance was beyond question, but as preachers, their out-look was unfortunately very narrow. Their stubborn faith in the dogmas of the christian church together with their religious zeal for working out the salvation of mankind made them absolutely uncompromising and vitriolic critics of all alien creeds. Far from appreciating anything good and salutary in other religions, they poured out with perfect non-chalance vials of hatred upon all non-christian faiths and uttered anathema upon all heathens.

As ill luck would have it, their position lent glamour to their preaching. They appeared as educationists, journalists and social workers and ranked as philanthropists and posed as scions of the ruling race. Besides they had winning manners, and at least some of them bore a genuine love for the people of this land. These made their influence all the more formidable. At the portals of educational institutions stood

these redoubtable champions of christianity; and they gently led their intellectual pupils to step out of academic distinction on to religious conversion. The proselytizing spirit of these pious zealots began to play havoc within the Hindu fold.

Thus the bane of political serfdom together with the attendant evils of the new system of education sat upon the Hindu society like a horrible nightmare. Generations of quixotic cultural hybrids raised their heads like mushrooms all over the country. They were neither Indian nor English in their taste, temperament, intellectual outlook and ways of life. They had scarcely any faith in their forefathers and their hoary culture, and they deemed it wise to set a premium on aping, though imperfectly, the English, who had appeared in the role of their political masters and intellectual guides. An impartial observer of this period, therefore would naturally find nothing but a complete cultural chaos, particularly within the zone of English education."

Bishop Heber wrote from Calcutta in December 1823 about the visible effects of the English contact: §

"... Some of the best informed of their nation with whom I have conversed assure me that half of their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mahomedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in everything which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will probably to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars and fitted with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature, and the children of one of our friends I saw one day

dressed in jackets and trousers with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told inclining to Whiggism, and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since in honour of the Spanish revolution. Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially in a growing neglect of caste, in not merely a willingness but an anxiety to send their children to our schools and a desire to learn and speak English. They tolerate teaching Gospels in schools."

Lord William Bentinck in his minute dated 30.5.1829 stated as follows:—

"I need scarcely mention the increasing demand which almost all who possess the means, evince for various articles of convenience and luxury purely European; it is in many cases very remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festivals a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much of what used in old times to be distributed among beggars and Brahmins is now in many instances devoted to the ostentatious entertainment of Europeans, and generally the amount expended in useless alms is stated to have been greatly curtailed."

Mr. Holt Mackenzie in his evidence before the Commons Committee on 23-2-1832 said: "I believe intercourse with Europeans leads to indulgence in use of wines and spirits which though it may be lamented on the score of morals must be beneficial to the revenue. The servants are generally better clothed and the articles of clothing being subject to taxation, that would increase the revenue. Judging from Calcutta, there has been I think a marked tendency among the natives to indulge in English luxuries, they have well furnished houses, many wear watches, they are fond of carriages and are understood to drink wines."

(* See the article on Sri Ramakrishna and spiritual Renaissance, in the Cultural Heritage of India Vol. II. pp 441-443. By Swami Nirvedananda founder secretary, Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta Students' Home, Dum Dum).

§ Bishop Heber's Journal P. 252.

On 24-3-1932 Mr. Bracken said "that the liquors in Calcutta are now consumed in large quantities by natives who can afford to purchase them.*

"The first effect of the Christian education on Indian youth was to sweep off all respect for religion and society. A half caste Portuguese, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio in 1826 at the age of seventeen joined the staff of the Hindu college Calcutta, now the Presidency college. He had a terrible hold on the young pupils. The Hindu college had another remarkable teacher in Dr. Richardson. The Derozio school of Young Bengal cared nothing for nationalism-despising everything Indian, awake to one fact only, that at last intellectual freedom had come, and that nothing else mattered. Movements long spent in Europe found renewal here. The French Revolution and its ideas, the late eighteenth century philosophers, such poets as Shelly and Byron were popular. More than vigorous, they were often reckless, against superstition; students would fling beef bones into the houses of orthodox, would go round shouting, "we have eaten Musulman bread", would stage ceremonies of mock conversion to Islam. They showed great earnestness for social reform and when Dr. Alexander Duff founded in 1845 what is now the Scottish Church College, he won swiftly from the highest Hindu families a group of converts whose after career proved them of outstanding ability and character. Among them were Lal Behari De, the author of Folk tales of Bengal and Bengal peasant life and Kalicharan Banerji, Registrar of Calcutta University and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. Krishnamohan Banerji, another man destined to matter greatly in his country's life, in 1833 left the Derozio group with their scorn for all religion as superstition and was baptized. For a while it looked as if Bengal, led by its young intelligensia, was at the start of a mass movement into christianity recalling the early centuries of christian

missions in Europe. Macaulay's belief that enlightenment would kill Hinduism and bring in christianity so derided now, in its context was a reasonable guess.‡

The boldness with which the Hindu College boys attacked the religious and social institutions of their country was thus set forth by Babu Hara Mohan Chatterjee at that time clerk of the Hindu College.

"The principles and practices of Hindu religion were openly ridiculed and condemned, and angry disputes were held on moral subjects. The sentiments of Hume had been widely diffused and warmly patronized. The most glowing harangues were delivered in debating clubs, which were then numerous. The Hindu religion was denounced as vile and corrupt, and unworthy of the regard of rational beings. The degraded state of Hindus formed the topic of many debates; their ignorance and superstitions were declared to be the causes of such a state, and it was then resolved that nothing but liberal education could enfranchise the minds of the people. The degradation of the female mind was viewed with indignation. The resolution, at a very large meeting was carried unanimously that Hindu women should be taught."†

For a time it looked as if the spiritual foundations of the Hindu social structure were giving way and a crash was inevitable and that Bengal was going to become Christian enmasse, but Debendra Nath Tagore saved the situation. The Brahmo Samaj did what orthodox Hinduism was powerless to do providing a half way house where men could worship without idolatry and the cruelties which passed as religion. It stayed the exodus. For seventy years, Brahmo Samaj influenced Bengali life in every way. It produced a succession of noble leaders. Brahmo Samaj provided what awakened conscience asked without compelling an absolute break with Hindu Society.

* Colonization of India. -- Major B. D. Basu. P. 73.

‡ Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India, Edward Thompson and G. T. Garraat pp. 309-310.

† Life and Experiences of a Bengali chemist, -- Sir P. C. Ray, Vol II pp. 17-18.

Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore and others led the reformist movement. Debendranath Tagore and Keshub-chunder Sen followed. The reformist movement among the educated classes based on the Brahmo Samaj almost disappeared by the Hindu revival after the Mutiny. The revival of Hindu orthodoxy and nationalist sentiment went hand in hand.*

When Kesub Chunder Sen and his biographer P. C. Muzoomdar turned out of the college in 1858, Hindu society in Bengal presented a chaos. "The indications of mental irregularity became pronounced and unmistakable. †The type of character known as "Young Bengal" to whom Kesub dedicated his first tract in 1860, was fully developed. Strong tendencies of social transition had set in. What was known as education comprised a slight acquaintance with the idioms of the English language made through an uncritical study of various English authors.

The writer of a newspaper article had great reputation in his neighbourhood. Bengali versification was most abundantly practised. There was no enthusiasm for public life. Perhaps an aspirant after political celebrity delivered a set speech at a literary club, a great number of which began to crop up in the native quarters of Calcutta. Perhaps an eccentric character joined the Brahmo Samaj more for the free eating than the practice of religion there. Perhaps some enterprising youth would go and become a convert to christianity. But as a rule education except in rare instances, neither stimulated the intellect to originality nor influenced the heart to profound impulse. On the other hand with increasing knowledge, there was an increasing progress of secret self-indulgence; scepticism had extensively infected the rising generation and strict morality was ceasing to have any hold on Young Bengal.

The decision of the Government to promote European education resulted in

the utter neglect of the vernaculars of the land. Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian held in such supreme reverence but a few years before, were looked upon with unconcealed contempt. They were barbarous, unwholesome, unfashionable. The establishment of debating clubs in different quarters of Calcutta dating from the foundation of Bethune society in 1851 created a great ferment amongst bodies of young students. Political associations then in the embryo arose out of such organisations. One or two English newspapers edited by Hindus began to rear their heads. A good many Bengali newspapers kept the air warm with their perpetual vilifications of each other.

Bands of young men who had lost their faith in the orthodox religion of the land met to discuss religion and now and then assailed the superstitious notions and practices of their older neighbours with truculent zeal. All these things worked together to cause deep disturbance in the huge mass of native society. Youths set aside all restrictions and wanted to eat and drink and live as they chose. The Christian missionaries, the state officials, the youthful journalists, the unfledged reformers, all united to raise a war-cry against caste and the entire population of our colleges and schools joined the crusade. It meant the introduction of European luxuries of food and drink, the free and lazy ways of the west, the abolition of social discipline of the exactions of Brahman priests and impecunious relatives. Excessive indulgence in the use of alcoholic liquors characterised the educated community. Concomittant vices showed themselves and premature mortality increased. The emancipation of women began to be talked about, and here and there the doors of the Zenana were flung open. Even before they had learnt to honour the gentler sex they felt a trenchant desire to be introduced into the company of the female relations of their neighbours... Impurity of character among the educated became proverbial, philosophers of the special and Agnostic schools, scientific opponents of religion and morality, the apostles of unitarianism, the

* See Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India. Thompson and Garrat Pp. 310-311.

† Keshub Chunder Sen and his times — Pratap Chunder Muzoomdar.

materialistic professors of Nescience, and so called Positivism, over-spread the land with their teachings. ... For one man who came to embrace Christianity or joined the Brahmo Samaj, ten expressed their wholesale defiance of all religion. Drunkenness and debauchery of the latest European fashions, became associated with great religious festivals of the orthodox Hinduism. English officials and merchants attended the dances of native courtezans on such occasions. All faith in morality and religion every day became weaker and tended to decay. The advancing tide of a mixed civilization, with as much evil as good in it, the very flood of fashionable carnality threatened to carry everything before it.

Neither the missionaries nor their converts showed any inclination to protest against the tide of corrupt civilized self indulgence which upset the character of the rising generations. One of the newspapers of the time characterized Dr. Duff's pupils as well as other free and lazy young men of the time as 'cutting their way through ham and beef and wading their way to liberalism through tumblers of beer'.

Throwing unhallowed food into the compounds of the orthodox neighbours and the consequent breach of peace is mentioned in the life of Dr. Alexander Duff by George Smith, the office of the Inquirer, edited by K. M. Banerjea being the scene of this unruly behaviour." §

In less than a quarter of a century the famous prophecy Lord Macaulay made in 1836 was fulfilled. A class of persons "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste in opinion and intellect" sprang up not only in Bengal but throughout the length and breadth of India. "When the first Bengali was called to the bar and began his practice in the Calcutta High Court," says Sir P. C. Ray.* "he fixed his residence in the Chowringhee quarter (i. e. the West End), furnished his drawing room a l' Européenne, and adopted the dress and the manners of his English master to a

nicety. His successors imitated his example with alacrity, nay, improved upon it. What the High Court bar does to day, the whole of educated Bengal does tomorrow. The masses eagerly follow in the wake of the 'bhadralogs'. The Judge, the practising lawyer, the doctor, the school master, the clerk, constituting the educated classes—one and all are parasites living ultimately on the produce of the land. None of them creates wealth. They have been quick to mimic the externals of European life, but the energy, pluck, indomitable perseverance, punctuality and method-qualities which really count and go to the making of a nation, they are hopelessly deficient in. All the same in social matters they are as far behind as their less favoured brethren and strictly conform to the orthodox style and hesitate to deviate an inch from the age-long customs."

"This approximation to the European style of living can hardly be called elevation. In many, I may say most, respects, the change was decidedly for the worse. In a climate where minimum of clothing conformably to the indigenous standard of decency, conducive to health for the greater portion of the year, covering oneself up from head to foot after the European style cannot but be prejudicial to health. The same remark applied generally to the change of taste in regard to eating, drinking and smoking, especially in regard to the alarming spread of tea-drinking and of cigarette smoking.

"But whether 'elevation' or not, whether for good or for bad, the approximation of the standard of living of one of the poorest communities of the world to that of one of the richest is suicidal. True, a very small section of our community composed of some artisans, state servants, lawyers etc. have more money than before. But they too are generally impoverished.

"Impoverishment is a comparative term. If one having comparatively more money than before has yet more wants, he

* Keshub Chunder Sen and his times —Pratap Chunder Muzoomdar.

§ Life and Experiences of a Bengali chemist —Sir P. C. Ray Vol. II Pp. 333, 334, 341, 342.

is certainly poorer. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that the great majority of our middle class have been impoverished in this sense. The candle burns at both ends. Their resources are exhausted on the one hand by the inordinate enhancement of the prices of indigenous necessities, and on the other by the so called elevation of the standard of living which is enlarging their wants. Even incomes which formerly would have been regarded as opulence are now hardly deemed to be bare competence. While milk and the various preparations of milk which form our principal articles of nutrition suited to the climate have become so very dear that the great majority of our middle class cannot afford to get them in sufficient quantity for bare subsistence. They have to spend comparatively large sums upon the gratification of the new tastes which have sprung up for clothing, shoes, socks etc., and for amusements and games, such as theatrical performances, circuses, cinemas, billiards, football, tennis etc., which have superseded the much less expensive indigenous amusements and games. For, the average man blindly follows the prevailing fashion and with him, show counts for more than substance, and the ornamental prevails over the useful." P. N. Bose : *Swaraj, Cultural and Political*, pp 123-125. §

They have acquired a morbid craze for the absorption of European "civilization" but are as helpless as the Zulu or the Red Indian, or the Santhal as far as the manufacture of finished goods out of their own abundant supply of raw materials is concerned. The peasantry, imitating their betters, bring ruin and starvation on their families. Even in industrially advanced England the working classes under the spell of democracy have caught the rage for things that are "pure nonsense" and are fast losing the sense of "responsibility and thrift." They too are mad after imitating their betters and enjoying the good things of life.

"The demand for prime necessities such as food and normal clothing has decreased, in favour of things to satisfy desires that are obviously of secondary importance, even pure nonsense. Essentials are being systematically relegated to the back-ground while everything for the leisure hours is much in demand. Luxury or at any rate imitation luxury, is popular—everyone must have it.

"Meanwhile, a host of new expenses figure in every one's budget, expenses suggested by industries which seem almost to have sprung out of the blue, for twenty years ago they did not even exist. The world's consumption is now largely made up of an endless demand for automobiles, gramophones, radios, electrical gadgets, telephones, cinematographs, cameras, etc. This is evidently one by-product of the spread of democracy among the masses, who, weary of restraint, are at last insisting on having their share in the good things of life. By diminishing the general sense of responsibility and thrift, and by suddenly revealing the profound instability of our age, the War hastened this evolution of humanity towards immediate gratification. Asia and Africa are rapidly following in the wake of America and Europe in this respect."*

(19) Harriet Martineau has written in 1857 about the psychological reactions of the policy of Christianization. She says :—

"Within the vast horizon there are innumerable groups of ruins, showing that this sandy desert was once covered by cities. The existing race lives in huts built among these ruins and in their daily business pass through marble colonnades, seeing pillar after pillar crumble and fall, or they thread a labyrinth of tanks full of dust and unroofed mosques. Here and there some gilding glitters under the sun, and snowy cupolas or parapets seem to cut clear into the deep blue sky while only birds go in and out and wild

§ See *Life and Experiences of a Bengali chemist* — P. C. Ray Vol II. P 342-3

* Adre Siegfried : *England's Crisis*. Pp 95-96. See *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist* Vol II. Pp. 340-341.

creatures harbour among the rubbish. Here Europeans come, either to explore, or on their way to some native court, or their own residency. Their presence is very imposing from the length and obsequiousness of their train of followers.....

In some of these ruined cities there has been such a jumble of faiths up to our own time, that Musulman inhabitants have offered up flowers and other sacrificial articles forbidden by koran, while the poor Hindoos worshipped in the mosques, supposing it to be allright to do homage in any sacred place. Elsewhere the desecration is from ignorance on the other side. It is naturally impossible for the superior race, in such cases to begin ruling with any adequate knowledge of the minds and circumstances they are dealing with. Above all this mischief must exist when the subordinate race has been surprised in that stage of civilization in which the religious, political and social institutions are mutually incorporated. There is a period in the progress of every race and people when the priests are ex-officio, rulers warriors, legislators, physicians, and scholars; and it is then impossible to touch any part of the polity under which they live without affecting all the rest. In such cases, the most benevolent arrangements, and the best intended reforms, may make eternal enemies of the subject people or break their hearts. Passing over the dreadful instances of injury caused by mere levity, as that of some giddy soldiers compelling a Brahmin to swallow one drop of beef broth, when all the powers of ecclesiastical and civil government were inadequate to retrieve the sufferer from perdition, there is worse behind, in the shifting of inheritances, and other arrangements of the British which seem good, and just, and benevolent to them, but are absolutely fatal to those whom they affect. The wisest knew little yet of the political and social operation of the worship of ancestors among the Hindoos at this day. In a general way, the English see that the bachelors among themselves are regarded with a disgust and contempt barely covered by respect for power; and that married men without sons are an object of compassion. They see this, and

they inquire about those observances which they must never witness—the oblations to ancestors—and then, not dreaming of any connection among such things, they decree changes in hereditary rights and customs, alter successions, deprive the heirs and set up new ones, try to abolish infanticide, and so on. They explain the principles of justice on which they proceed, and trust they are gaining confidence and reputation, while they are cursed by victims whom they have unconsciously doomed to excommunication and perdition hereafter. No small amount of Mahratta hate has been brought upon us in this way; and they have always been by-places where Brahmins have been fomenting discontent, and reciting curses against Christians, while their other conquerors, the Mahomedans, have been uttering daily prayers, for a hundred years, that the Delhi race of sovereigns might be restored, and the European driven from the country. But a few months ago, while our rule in India was apparently unassailed, and even unquestioned, it was a subject of nightly talk—from under the eaves of English bungalows to the deepest recesses of Hindoo temples that our impiety must overthrow us; that the first of religious truths was the Family being the basis of state, ancestors being an eternal race of Gods, and sonship an eternal institution, whereas the British do not take care of their ancestors, nor religiously provide heirs, while they impiously meddle with succession, even making changes in royal families, and among groups of princes like that of the Mahratta chiefs. Thus has the Brahmanical mind been seething and boiling under that external homage which was to the last moment, paid to British superiority and power.*

It was under such psychological conditions that the mutiny broke out. Some attempt was made to make some amends by Queen Victoria in her proclamation; but her assurances were more honoured in their breach than in their observance. The discontent gave birth to various great social religious and political reform movements and paved the way for the creation of the New India of to day.

* British Rule in India — Harriet Martineau Pp. 336-339.

A Note on The ⁽¹⁵⁾Urasian Community *

"The Eurasians are a very unhappy community in India. Long before the conquest of India by England, Portuguese, French, and English people had intermarried and intermixed with Hindus and Mahomedans; and many years previous to the Mutiny an Eurasian community had come into existence. "To-day, in Calcutta and in every other Anglo-Indian centre, large numbers of Eurasians may be seen; and throughout India, in offices and places of business, Eurasians are employed.

Eurasians like to call themselves 'the domiciled community,' and this annoys English people born in India and I have noticed that new comers exhibit much less antagonism towards Eurasians than is shewn by domiciled English persons. The latter smart under the fact that English people are brought to India and placed over their heads, and there certainly is a prejudice against what is called in India 'a native-born Englishman'.

Often I have read in the advertisement columns of Anglo-Indian newspapers, 'No, Eurasian need apply,' and under the heading of 'Situations Wanted', I have seen the signature 'Pure European.' Sometimes 'A fair Eurasian' is asked for; and I have noticed that the children of Eurasian parents vary very much in colour, one child being whiter than an English boy or girl, perhaps, and the rest of the family very dark, or nearly black. Some Eurasian girls are pretty, large dark eyes being set in an olive complexion and curly black hair; but the ordinary, poor Eurasian has a down-trodden expression, and is careless about hair and clothes, shoes and socks. The worst cases of poverty in Indian cities are found among Eurasians who want to live in English style and have only enough money, to live as poor Hindus and Mahomedans do; and in Indian cities I have seen 'Homes for Eurasians' in which betel was allowed, also the hucca, and the food supplied was only rice and curry. But to ask a poor Eurasian to sit on the floor, or to speak to such a person

in any language but English, would be considered an unpardonable insult; and very few Eurasians can be engaged as house-hold servants, because they will not associate with Indian servants, but want separate rooms and separate food. I think I am right in saying that there is not a single Eurasian in India who does not profess to belong to the Christian religion; and the words Indians dislike most—'native' and 'heathen'—are constantly on the lips of Eurasians. I met several Eurasian missionaries, and, although darker than many Hindus and Mahomedans, they spoke as if no drop of 'heathen' blood were in their veins. Of the English missionaries they seemed to be very jealous, saying that such missionaries are no longer wanted in India, and the work of converting the heathen, ought to be left to people born in the country. The high salaries paid to English missionaries, and the trips home that such missionaries consider necessary for their health, the Eurasian missionaries seem to think needless expenses; and they call the English missionaries 'stuck up' and 'stand off' and consequently 'un-Christlike.' I have seen letters on this subject in Anglo-Indian papers, and these endorsed the statements made to me by Eurasian missionaries trained in India by the London Missionary Societies.

Now that fares to England are cheap, an English man rarely chooses a wife in India. Almost every steamer brings brides—sometimes five or six—and it is no unusual thing to hear the banns of an Englishman published in an Anglo-Indian Church, and people asked to say whether there be any just cause or impediment why so and so Bachelor of this parish shall not be united, in Holy Matrimony with 'Dash-Dash, Spinster, now on the High Seas'? Some friend of the bridegroom, or the wife of the clergyman of the parish receives the bride on her arrival, and shortly afterwards she is married. She brings her trousseau, and also sometimes the wedding-cake, and the Captain, or an Officer of the steamer on which she had made the voyage, is often asked to give her away. I am now speaking of girls who come out to marry young

* Glimpes of Hidden India—John Law. (Thacker Spink and Co. Calcutta, 1908.

Englishmen in shops and offices, young men with high salaries and good prospects. Such brides are placed in the care of the Captain, or the Stewardess; and after a merry voyage become memsahibs in vilas and boarding-houses and quickly fall into the routine of the little circles to which their husbands belong.

When the voyage to England took months instead of days, Englishmen in India looked for wives in the country; and stories are still told of the portionless girls who were then sent to India to find husbands, and who, if unsuccessful, were shipped back to England as 'returned empties'. In those days the Government went into the matrimonial business, and in a suburb of an Indian city, I saw in a large compound, a magnificent house where the illegitimate daughters of English Officers who were killed during the Mutiny, had been received, educated, and, if possible, married. Balls were given to which young Englishmen were invited; and everything that the Government of the day could do to find husbands for its proteges was done. At the present time, only two or three very old ladies inhabit the place; and when they die, it will lapse to the Government.

The most noticeable thing about the ordinary Eurasian is that he claims to be wholly English, Scotch, Portuguese, French, or Dutch, and ignores altogether his Indian ancestry. Yet his colour, eyes and hair remind one more of the Indian than the European, and if he did not insist so much on being altogether of Europe, it would, I believe, be better for him. His attitude towards Hindus and Mahomedans makes him much disliked by Indians; and I have often asked myself:—

"If England left India, what would become of Eurasians?"

It is usual to blame the English alone for the large and ever-increasing Eurasian community in India. But this is a mistake. The English deserve three-quarters of the blame, but not all of it. Unmarried English soldiers are the chief cause of the Eura-

sian element in India, female native Camp followers being allowed—many people say 'encouraged'—by the Military Authorities. On this subject I shall have more to say later on. I will only remark here that although Hindu women of the Four Great Castes are carefully guarded in India, Panchama, or Fifth Caste women, are treated as beasts of burden. I am told that originally all Hindus belonged to the Four Great Castes, and that the so-called Panchama Caste came into existence because some Hindus neglected their duties, committed sins, and thereby fell out of the Four Great Castes. Among the Panchamas the missionaries work; and in the Fifth Caste only have missionaries made many converts. From the Panchama Caste English people take most of their servants; and the bitterest pang of the Eurasian is that chiefly Panchama women have succumbed to the English. Indians—both Hindus and Mahomedans—do not hesitate to throw this fact in the faces of Eurasians; and hence, to a great extent, the exceeding bitterness of the Eurasian towards the Indian.

Mahomedan women, of all classes, have been carefully secluded ever since the English went to India, and in the Eurasian community we do not find the traits of Persia and Arabia, but the features of Hindus.

I talked one day with an English missionary about Eurasians, and he said:—

"We cannot be too kind, or too considerate, in matters where Eurasians are concerned; for we brought them here, and in language, religion and education, they are more akin to us than to the natives of India. Their ancestors have been, in many cases, respectably married for generations. They are often well educated, and intelligent, and they are more loyal than the English themselves in all matters in which England is concerned. I confess that they are hyper-sensitive, exacting, jealous; but we must try to put ourselves in their places and remember that the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children from generation to generation."

It is impossible not to feel sorry for some of the well-bred, highly-educated Eurasian families with whom English people refuse to associate; more especially when the girls have been educated in England. On returning home, such girls naturally desire to enter local social circles; and the hard and fast line drawn between Eurasians and English people in Anglo-Indian Society is felt by them very keenly.

I met in an Indian city two charming English ladies, and the younger one remarked:—

"I hate India!"

"Why, I thought India was 'the ladies paradise' said an old gentleman, who happened to be present.

I was told that the elder lady had met a wealthy Eurasian in England, and had married him there, and on coming to India, she had found herself outside English Society. And the younger lady—her sister—could not go into local Society, although all the appendages of a good

social position were at her command—a large house, horses, carriages, and plenty of servants. Consequently the girl hated India, and was counting the days until she could return to England.

In places where English communities are small, peculiarly painful cases of English exclusiveness came to my notice. For instance, in one place, an Eurasian lawyer had the entire English practice, but he could not go to the English club, and his wife and daughters lived in London. I met several well-to-do Eurasians whose families were in England; and these gentlemen told me that they must remain grass-widowers until their daughters were married. The Eurasian lawyer already mentioned had no friends among the highly-educated Hindus and wealthy Mohammedans in the place where he had lived all his life; and he made his religion (Christianity) an excuse for keeping apart from the people of India. His only associates were English missionaries; and his hobby was gardening."

N. B.—The Editor is only too conscious of the imperfections of this study of Christianization. These extracts are from notes that he is taking down in the course of his studies of the history of the British period and are published with the hope that they may stimulate further study and research.

